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THE

# SPIRIT OF THE EAST.

BY

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"TURKEY AND ITS RESOURCES," "ENGLAND, FRANCE, RUSSIA, AND TURKEY," &c.

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Men are not influenced by Facts, but by Opinions respecting Facts."

EPICTETUS.

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THE

# SPIRIT OF THE EAST.

## CHAPTER I.

DESCENT TO THE VALE OF TEMPE—ARRIVAL AT AMBELAKIA.*

When our siesta was over, and when the sun had already set behind our lofty horizon, we mounted and proceeded towards Rapsana. After skirting the lake, we turned to the left, over a low hill, and descended into a deep glen, or "lac," opening to the sea. We could not see it; but a sea-scented breeze came winding through the hills. Here we came upon a party of villagers, who had just killed a wild boar. It was with great difficulty that we got away from them, for they insisted on our spending the night at their village, and ran over the bill of fare to which we should be treated. Besides the fine boar that lay extended on the grass, they had, they said, kids, still tender, that had just returned from Olympus;† moor-fowl, pheasants,

* From Αμπελάκια, meaning "The little vineyards."

† By keeping the flocks very high up, ewing time is delayed.

golden plovers, wild ducks, from Nizeros; and all that the fold, the barn-yard, or the dairy could bestow, without number or measure. We effected, however, our escape, and, on ascending the steep hill on the opposite side of the lac, we just saw the edge of the moon appearing over Kissova (Ossa), which showed, by the deep and gloomy shades, the tremendous chasm rent between Ossa and Olympus, where resided of old the Muses, and through which still flows the Peneus.

Turning to the left, and descending along the back of a ridge that runs parallel to Tempe, we at length looked out from Thessaly on the sea, and on the Delta of the Peneus, with its waters silvered by the moon, glittering, here and there, through the trees. Turning again towards the poetic vale, we descended on Rapsana, a heap of ruins, but where we were received in most comfortable quarters, and had a supper presented to us, which would not have shamed the bill of fare of the villagers on the road. The night was far advanced, when, as I had to start early next morning for Ambelakia, the task, and a hard one it always is, of leave-taking came on. Captain Demo declared that the day of my arrival should be kept as a festival at Caria; and I would not have got to bed until it was time to get up, unless I had promised to revisit Olympus, and spend some months there. "We will go," he said, "and hunt deer and boars, wolves and foxes, shoot pheasants, partridges, and all the tribe of water-fowl that frequent the Nizeros; we will, now and then, visit the people that live below, in the plains, and *shoot fish* in the Salembria: then you may go, as

often as you like, to the summit of Olympus, and search all the country over for old stones; but do not forget the potatoes."

All impatience to find myself in the Vale of Tempe, I quitted Rapsana at dawn, and soon after, in scrambling over the crest of a rock, came suddenly to the edge of the lofty precipice, and in view of the picture which I shall attempt to sketch. Before me—and so close did it seem, that I might have expected my voice to reach across the intervening chasm—arose the towering mass of conical Ossa. Below was the narrow vale of Tempe, with the greenish stream broken by islets, and meandering through trees. To the right, the vale opens out into a triangular plain. The side of Ossa on the left, and of Olympus on the right, formed as it were a frame to the prospect, meeting the base of a hill which rises from the dead level of the plain, before the entrance to Tempe. Then open out again, in the distance, beyond this hill and the outline of Ossa on one side, and of Olympus on the other, two plains, which again have a triangular aspect, presenting each its apex towards you. In that to the left, and touching almost to Ossa, may be descried Larissa, with its smiling oasis; in that to the right, Tournovo, with the white bed of the Titaressus; and, beyond these, the indistinct chains of the distant Pindus meet the horizon, and close the view. The Peneus comes sweeping round the base of Ossa, amidst rich fields and verdant groves; and, where it enters the narrow pass, stands the village of Baba, adorned with mosques and cypresses. Where the

opposite Ossa is least wild and rugged, and where industrious terraces have restrained the scanty soil in which the vine delights, Ambelakia is stuck, rather than built, and its magnificent-looking mansions appear as if made fast to the rocks. This was immediately in face of the point where I stood, and almost in a line perpendicularly with the summit of Ossa, which towered on high. At Baba, below me and a little to the right, commences the Vale of Tempe; but I could follow it, as it swept round the cliff on which I stood, through only a small portion of its course: for to the left the precipices, approaching from either side, made Ossa and Olympus appear to meet, and the vale, where visible between the rocks, looked like the entrance to a vast cavern.

The sight of Tempe produced an effect upon my nerves rather than upon my imagination. I felt my lungs dilate, and my limbs become elastic, as I inhaled its air and trod its steeps. But such impressions can no more be conveyed than produced by description. I called up no images of the past, I quoted no verses from Pindar or from Lucan, but I felt an enlargement of existence, and an intensity of enjoyment, in looking on the unrivalled landscape spread below, around, and above me, to each spot of which attached names so proud, and yet so familiar.

No scene, hallowed by antiquity, ever produced on me such an effect as Tempe. The reason may be, that here the genius of man is associated, not with perishable monuments, but with the indestructible grandeur of nature itself, fresh and smiling

with all its varieties of life and waywardness of effects, as when the bards of old received inspiration from its aspect, or poured forth adoration at its shrine. Here no cornice has fallen away, no tints have lost their freshness, no rhetoric its flowers: here is nothing to supply, but all to enjoy; no actors swept away to mourn for, no lost language to interpret, no effaced records to restore. Ossa is lofty as it ever was; Olympus majestic still; the plains of Larissa as wide; the waters of Peneus glide still betwixt banks that bear the myrtle and the daphne. Thousands of years have not wasted the hues with which the morning breaks over this land of enchantment, or impaired the grandeur of its setting sun.

Very different, however, is the effect of this scene on one who descends on it from above; who, wandering alone, detached from all previous habits, and dependent for every impression, thought, and inspiration on the genius of the spot, approaches the vale of the Muses, after having scaled the throne of the Thunderer, whose ear catches no sound, save that of the language of the Heraclidæ, whose daily existence in that which is most minute recals the heroic ages, and the masterpiece of the epic muse; and who in such wanderings is accompanied by men, the living representations of those who encamped on the Scamander. The traveller who reaches Tempe by the post road, carrying along with him, in all he is, in all that he feels, an atmosphere distinct from that of the spot, cannot know what the delight is of identification with a new world, in which one

stands the observer of one's original self, and where you have a double existence, by feeling as a part of this new world, and by gazing on it as a stranger.

While descending the rugged cliffs, our attention was suddenly called to Ambelakia, on the opposite side of the chasm, by the reports of musketry. We halted to observe the manner of the fight, and consider who the parties might be. During twenty minutes, along the upper skirts of the burgh, the firing continued, but we could not make out whether it was an attack on the town, or a squabble of the inhabitants between themselves. Captain Demo had sent two men to accompany me. They insisted on returning to Rapsana. I insisted on going on, but told them to return if they liked; and as people are not unfrequently ready with their services when not wanted, they declared that they were ready to follow me to the end of the world, and no longer objected to go as far as Baba. After duly changing their priming, and feeling that their yatagans were free in the scabbard, we proceeded, crossed the Peneus in a punt, and reached Baba. The Aga said that he did not know what the firing meant; but if the spinners above had come by any harm, he would have heard of it by that time. I, therefore, proceeded to climb the sides of Ossa, and, in about twenty minutes found myself scrambling through the narrow lanes of the once celebrated and wealthy, but now bankrupt and sequestered, Ambelakia.

Throughout the whole of this country, the arts of dyeing, weaving, tanning and curing of leather,

are domestic avocations; the ingredients, implements, and processes used, are, consequently, subject to continual variation. To my inquiries respecting these matters, the universal answer was, "Inquire at Ambelakia." "You will learn all that at Ambelakia." Whenever I put questions respecting the agriculture, administration, and statistics of the country, I was told, "Wait till you go to Ambelakia; there are men with long heads; there you will find men who have been brought up in Europe, and who will inform you of all things." I arrived, therefore, at this place, not merely filled with expectations, but having suspended my opinions until I should be enlightened by the sages of Ambelakia. Never was disenchantment more complete.

The half-day I spent at Ambelakia first opened my eyes as to the moral effects which accrue from sending young Easterns to acquire the manners of the West, or rather, I should say, to lose every trace of what is worthy, amiable, and attractive, in their own. I now saw the Greek mind in masquerade, and can conceive all the contempt and aversion with which it must inspire those who have only seen it thus attired. What will Greece be when the various influences of Europe will have come to act as effectively on this new state as they have done on Ambelakia?

Two days before, the Klephts had carried off one of the principal proprietors of Ambelakia. The Aga, with a body of the townsfolks, amounting to fifty or sixty in number, with their long

robes tied up round their middles, mounted on ponies, mules, and asses, had set forward in pursuit. It was the return of this expedition, in triumph, which was announced by the firing we had seen and heard from the opposite mountain. The triumph which they had celebrated was, however, not the recapture of the lost Primate, but the flight of the captors! This exhibition of the unwarlike spirit of the Ambelakiotes was amusing, it may be instructive. I have before referred to Mr. Dodwell's opinion respecting the causes of the prosperity of Magnesia, which he attributed to the "number and bravery of the armed Greeks, who set the Turks at defiance." Mr. Beaujour, in his "Tableau du Commerce de la Grèce," in like manner attributes the wealth and prosperity of Ambelakia to the bravery of the Ambelakiotes, and to the equal dexterity with which they wielded the shuttle and the musket! What would we say of a Turkish traveller, who, after a tour in England, related to his countrymen that a stick of eighteen inches was found in that country to be a more powerful weapon than a musket and bayonet; and that a peculiar race, called constables, there existed, who could, single-handed, beat a whole regiment. And yet the reflection of Mr. Beaujour, respecting the causes of the prosperity and independence of the Ambelakiotes, or those of Mr. Dodwell respecting that of the Zagorites, are not more inapplicable than these.

At Ambelakia I was taken to the Serai, as it is called, of one of the primates. I, of course, expected to see everything European, whereas every-

thing was the very antithesis of Europe. The mansion was spacious and lofty, laid out in the Turkish style, painted in gaudy colours, and ornamented with abundance of gilding, decorations, fretted work, and arabesque. Floors raised, floors depressed; rails cutting through rooms; couches spread in corridors; windows from one apartment to another; double rows of windows to all the rooms, and abundance of stained glass; nowhere passages flattening the nose; none of that huddling of box on box, called rooms; but, on every side, airy spaces for circulation; perfect freedom in the centre of the apartments; invitations to repose around; and, wherever you turned your eyes, the thick-set windows, without intervening objects, presented at once a full view of the magnificence of surrounding nature.

I here found my companion, who had come from Larissa to wait for me, convalescent from the ague, but much alarmed for my safety, and excessively disappointed with, and irritated by, the natives. He had entered Ambelakia with expectations similar to mine. The difference between this and every other place we had visited, would almost have made us think that we had passed from one world to another. Here were no visits from the principal men to bid us welcome; none of that delicacy and warmth of feeling which, everywhere else, made us feel instantaneously at home. When we attempted to see the people of the house, they stared at us, or ran away. The women wrapped handkerchiefs round their faces, and the men

quitted the house. Determined to penetrate, if possible, the mystery of so unwonted a reception, I sallied forth into the street, and entering one of the handsomest houses, I walked up stairs and entered the divan khané: I there found several of the most respectable class in consultation. Elsewhere, such a visit would have called forth expressions of welcome, and even of gratitude and thanks: here it was astonishment and embarrassment. I explained to them that I was a stranger, who had been attracted by the fame of Ambelakia and the beauties of Tempe. *They asked me if I had a buyourdi from the Pasha of Larissa?* I said, amongst the Klephts of Olympus I had not been asked for a buyourdi. They informed me that there was nothing to be seen in Ambelakia, that they had no information to give me, and that our presence might injure and compromise them with the Turks. I could not help expressing my extreme surprise at the reception I met with, in a place that I had approached with so much interest, and at the contrast between them and their compatriots; whilst I expected, in men who had had so much connexion with Europe, feelings of a very different character. One of them replied, " In Europe, are you in the habit of going and living in the houses of people whom you don't know, and at the expense of people who don't know you? What is the meaning of two young men coming and staying in a village where they have no business, and in a house where there are only women?" I returned to my companion, and proposed to quit the inhospitable

place immediately, and try if we should be better treated by the Turks at Baba.

The proposal was no sooner made than adopted. A difficulty, however, occurred. My faithful Aristotle was the only four-footed animal the services of which we could command; we had, therefore, to heap our saddles and our baggage on his single back, and drive him before us to Baba. Just as we had made this arrangement, which we had to carry into effect ourselves, for every soul ran from us as if we had been plague-patients, an Albanian ascended the stairs, and swaggering, like a rattling trophy of arms, into the divan khané, where we were seated, sat down and addressed our astonished ears as follows:— "Brothmakers,* get up and be off." "Whence comes," we inquired, "this civil greeting?" "I am," he answered, "the Cavash of the Aga; and the Codga Bashi (the Greek Primate) orders you immediately to quit his house, and go (εἰς τὸ καλλὸ) about your business." The Cavash made his exit even less ceremoniously, but more expeditiously than his entry. The household first, and then the Ambelakiotes in general, were thunderstruck at this result of their *coup d'état*, and, before Aristotle was laden, the whole women of the establishment, for still the men kept aloof, came about us to beg and implore that we would not leave them. The Cavash, they said, was a wild Albanian, a savage, a barbarian, and knew neither our merits nor our greatness, and they sued for forgiveness. We said

* Tchorbadgi, calk, git,

that was a matter now between them and the Pasha. This announcement produced a scene of tearful expostulation, and sufficed to disgust us in every way with the churlish, insolent, and cringing wretches, of which this community seemed to be composed; an instance, in a small way, of the moral gangrene that takes possession of a trading people when they break down.

We now proceeded downwards, under the silent gaze of the population, which had turned out to witness our retreat. First marched my companion's valet, a Circassian, with a horribly fierce frowning countenance, firmly grasping, and manfully hauling a rope, which was Aristotle's halter; then came Aristotle, his head and neck stretched out horizontally, with a Pelion of baggage piled up upon his Ossa; we followed, each with a lusty stick to stay the baggage and to drive the mule. We returned scowl for scowl to the Ambelakiotes as we passed, and shook the dust from our soles as we cleared the town; and about sunset reached the village of Baba, to claim hospitality and to ask for shelter. The few people we saw stared at us and got out of the way. We took refuge in a huckster's shop. The shopkeeper was an Albanian; some allusions to his country opened his heart, and a small room over the shop was cleared out for our reception; and, as my companion returned to Larissa next morning, I remained, for above a week, a solitary tenant of this cell—a hermit in Tempe!

## CHAPTER II.

### RISE AND FALL OF THE COMMERCIAL MUNICIPALITY OF AMBELAKIA.

In Turkey, the people, free in principle and feeling, combine with the Sultan to restrain the power, or to avenge the oppression of the governors. In Europe, the people, *after* they had been reduced to a state of serfage, and a legalised sacrifice had been made of their rights, coalesced with the King to overthrow the feudal aristocracy, who, originally, were governors, but who had succeeded in converting authority into possession, and in rendering that possession permanent, hereditary, and legal. But in Turkey the evils have not yet taken root in her system; they are not sanctioned by prescription, epithets, or law; they are marked as aberrations, they are reprobated as crimes. The cultivator of the soil is not a serf; and even if he is a labourer, he has proprietary rights and feeling. Here emancipated slaves have not to fly to a city of refuge, there to establish, as distinct from their race and government, a community of freemen—free because outcasts; but the whole mass of the population in-

herits those simple institutions to which—when accidentally sprung up upon her soil—Europe owes *her* progress and her liberties.

On discovering the existence of urban municipalities and commercial corporations in the East, I was naturally led to compare these with the municipal cities and republics of the middle ages, which, in remote corners, or on hitherto neglected shores, burst forth into splendid contrast with the surrounding barbarism, owing their wealth, prosperity, liberty, and intelligence, not to the accidents of origin, soil, or circumstance, but solely to principles of administration. With these Ambelakia furnishes the means of instituting a comparison: its history furnishes the proof that the fundamental rights, which the municipalities of Europe in the middle ages exceptionally obtained or forcibly extorted, are, in the East, common to the whole people, and are the basis of opinion and government.

Ambelakia was, perhaps, the spot, amid all the rich recollections of Thessaly, which I visited with the greatest interest; and, but for the lordly mansions that still overlook the Vale of Tempe, the traveller might doubt the reality of a story which appears almost fabulous. I extract from Beaujour's "Tableau du Commerce de la Grèce," published at the commencement of this century, the details he has preserved respecting it, in as far as they were confirmed to me by the information I obtained on the spot.

"Ambelakia, by its activity, appears rather a borough of Holland than a village of Turkey. This

village spreads, by its industry, movement, and life, over the surrounding country, and gives birth to an immense commerce, which unites Germany to Greece by a thousand threads. Its population has trebled in fifteen years, and amounts at present (1798) to four thousand, who live in their manufactories, like swarms of bees in their hives.* In this village are unknown both the vices and cares engendered by idleness; the hearts of the Ambelakiotes are pure, and their faces serene; the slavery which blasts the plains watered by the Peneus, and stretching at their feet, has never ascended the sides of Pelion (Ossa); and they govern themselves, like their ancestors, by their protoyeros, (primates, elders,) and their own magistrates. Twice the Mussulmans of Larissa attempted to scale their rocks, and twice were they repulsed by hands which dropped the shuttle to seize the musket.

"Every arm, even those of the children, is employed in the factories; whilst the men dye the cotton, the women prepare and spin it. There are twenty-four factories, in which, yearly, two thousand five hundred bales of cotton yarn, of one hundred okes each, are died (6138 cwts). This yarn finds its way into Germany, and is disposed of at Buda, Vienna, Leipsic, Dresden, Anspach, and Bayreuth. The Ambelakiote merchants had houses of their own in all these places. These houses belonged to distinct associations at Ambelakia. The competition

* But the principal portion of the yarn was homespun in the surrounding districts, and disposed of to the Ambelakiotes to be dyed.

thus established, reduced very considerably the common profits; they proposed, therefore, to unite themselves under one central administration. * Twenty years ago this plan was suggested, and in a few years afterwards it was carried into execution. The lowest shares in this joint-stock company were five thousand piastres, (between 600*l.* and 700*l.*,) and the highest were restricted to twenty thousand, that the capitalists might not swallow up all the profits. The workmen subscribed their little profits, and, uniting in societies, purchased single shares; Besides their capital, their labour was reckoned in the general amount: they received their portion of the profits accordingly, and abundance was soon spread through the whole community. The dividends were, at first, restricted to ten per cent., and the surplus profit was applied to the augmenting of the capital, which, in two years, was raised from 600,000 to 1,000,000 piastres (120,000*l.*)

"Three directors, under an assumed firm, managed the affairs of the company; but the signature was also confided to three associates at Vienna, whence the returns were made. These two firms of

* This competition was of a peculiar character; these houses were agents of one factory, and the competition between the agents did not allow the produce of the factory its fair advantages against other factories. The factories had a common administration at home, and it sent its goods to market at its own expense and risk—combining the profits of merchant, broker, and manufacturer; as it was carried on by an association of capital and labour, which equalised the profits so much that the poorest could wait for a return, to reap the benefits of the speculation, as well as receive the wages of his labour.

Ambelakia and Vienna had their correspondents at Peste, Trieste, Leipsic, Salonique, Constantinople, and Smyrna, to receive their own staple, effect the return, and to extend the market for the cotton-yarn of Greece. An important part of their trust was to circulate the funds realised, from hand to hand, and from place to place, according to their own circumstances, necessities, and the rates of exchange."

Thus the company secured to itself both the profits of the speculation and the profits of the banker, which was exceedingly increased by the command and choice which these two capacities gave of time, market, and speculation. When the exchange was favourable, they remitted specie; when unfavourable, they remitted goods; or they speculated in Salonica, Constantinople, and Smyrna, by purchase of bills, or by the transmission of German goods, according to the fluctuations and demands of the different markets, of which their extensive relations put them immediately in possession, and by which the rapid turning of so large a capital gave them always the means of profiting.

"Never was a society established upon such economical principles; and never were fewer hands employed in the transaction of such a mass of business. To concentrate all the profits of Ambelakia, the correspondents were all Ambelakiots; and, to divide the profits more equally amongst them, they were obliged to return to Ambelakia, after three years' service; and they had then to serve one year

at home, to imbibe afresh the mercantile principles of the company.

"The greatest harmony long reigned in the association; the directors were disinterested, the correspondents zealous, and the workmen docile and laborious. The company's profits increased every day, on a capital which had rapidly become immense. Each investment realised a profit of from sixty to one hundred per cent.; all which was distributed, in just proportions, to capitalists and workmen, according to capital and industry. The shares had increased tenfold."

The disturbances which succeeded to this period of unrivalled prosperity, are attributed, by Beaujour, with that provoking vagueness that substitutes epithets for causes, to the "surabondance de richesse," to "assemblées tumultueuses," to the workmen's quitting the shuttle for the pen, to the exactions of the rich, and to the insubordination of the inferior orders. To us it may, on the contrary, be a matter of surprise that such an association could exist, so long and so prosperously, in the absence of judicial authority to settle, in their origin, disputes and litigated interests, which, in the absence of such authority, could only be decided by violence. The infraction of an injudicious bye-law gave rise to litigation, by which the community was split into two factions. For several years, at an enormous expense, they went about to Constantinople, Salonica, and Vienna, transporting witnesses, and mendicating legal decisions, to reject

them when obtained; and the company separated into as many parts as there were associations of workmen in the original firm. At this period, the Bank of Vienna, in which their funds were deposited, broke; and, with this misfortune, political events combined to overshadow the fortunes of Ambelakia, where prosperity, and even hope, were finally extinguished by the commercial revolution produced by the spinning-jennies of England. Turkey now ceased to supply Germany with yarn: she became tributary for this, her staple manufacture, to England. Finally came the Greek Revolution. This event has reduced, within the same period, to a state of as complete desolation, the other flourishing townships of Magnesia, Pelion, Ossa, and Olympus. Even on the opposite heights of Olympus, across the valley of Tempe, Rapsana, from a thousand wealthy houses which ten years ago it possessed, is now, without being guilty of either "luxury" or "tumult," reduced to ten widowed hearths. But Beaujour's praise is as little merited as his censure is unjust. "Here," says he, "spring up anew grand and liberal ideas, on a soil devoted for twenty years to slavery; here the ancient Greek character arose in its early energy, amidst the torrents and caverns of Pelion (Ossa); and, to say all in a word, here were *all the talents and virtues* of ancient Greece born again in a corner of modern Turkey."

Had an old commercial emporium—had a conveniently situated sea-port, or a provincial chief town, possessing capital, connexions, and influence,

extended thus rapidly its commerce and prosperity, it would have been cited, and justly so, as a proof of sound principles of government; of public spirit, intelligence, and honour. What, then, shall we say of the character of the administration that has elevated an unknown, a weak, and insignificant hamlet, to such a level of prosperity? This hamlet has not a single field in its vicinity—had no local industry—had no commercial connexion—no advantage of position—was in the vicinity of no manufacturing movement—was on the track of no transit commerce—was not situated either on a navigable river, or on the sea—had no harbour even in its vicinity—and was accessible by no road, save a goat's path among precipices. Its industry received no impulse from new discoveries, or secrets of chemistry, or combination of mechanical powers: the sole secret of its rise was the excellent adjustment of interests, the free election of its officers, the immediate control of expenditure, and, consequently, the union of interests by the common pressure of burdens, and the union of sympathies by the smooth action of simple machinery. In fact, here might the imagination enrich itself with new combinations and effects; by which, escaping from the dogmatic frivolity of the age, it can enter into, and comprehend the causes, of that wonderful prosperity and administrative science, to which the human race seems to have attained in its earliest days, as indicated in the ruins of Nineveh and of Babylon, and in the institutes of Menu.

Ambelakia supplied industrious Germany, not by

the perfection of its machinery, but by the industry of its spindle and distaff. It taught Montpellier the art of dyeing, not from experimental chairs, but because dyeing was with it a domestic and culinary operation, subject to daily observation in every kitchen; and, by the simplicity and honesty, not the science of its system, it reads a lesson to commercial associations, and holds up an example unparalleled in the commercial history of Europe, of a joint stock and labour company ably and economically and successfully administered, in which the interests of industry and capital were equally represented. Yet the system of administration on which all this is engrafted, and the rights here enjoyed of property, proprietorship, and succession,—foundations of the political structure,—are common to the thousand hamlets of Thessaly, and to the Ottoman Empire. Here is to be sought the root, and found the promise, of the future fruits, the germs of which exist, although they lie inert in the bosom of those primeval institutions which have not yet, in the East, been extirpated by legislation, or trodden down by faction.

Ambelakia, however, is not a solitary instance of the prosperity of united commercial and manufacturing enterprise: Aivali, in Asia, is the counterpart of Ambelakia, in Europe. It owed its origin to the enterprise of a Greek priest, who, at the close of the last century, obtained a firman from the Porte. No sooner was this petty village withdrawn from the authority of the local Governor, and rendered immediately dependent on the Sultan, than

the municipal organisation revived in all its purity and vigour. Cultivators, artisans, traders, flocked from the neighbouring country; the olives of the surrounding plains were converted into soap, and spread, by their vessels, throughout the Archipelago; their morocco leather rivalled that of Janina; their silk that of Zagora; and wealth, rapid in its increase, equal in its distribution, and instruction ardently sought and universally extended, belied here again the libel of European laws and opinion on man's intellect and honesty. "A true creation of commerce and industry," observes M. Balbi,* "this little republic had rapidly become one of the most industrious, most commercial, and best regulated (*policée*) towns of Ottoman Asia. But its numerous manufactories, its tanneries, its oil-mills, its beautiful college, its library, its printing establishment, its fine churches, its 3,000 houses, and 36,000 inhabitants, have disappeared during the war of the resurrection of Greece." Such have been the widespread and desolating effects of a revolution conceived by philanthropy, consecrated by religion, hailed by freedom, and adopted by diplomacy!

* Abrégé de Géographie, p. 641.

## CHAPTER III.

### SOJOURN IN THE VALE OF TEMPE.

THE time did not pass heavily during my solitary abode in the vale of the Muses. I had thus leisure to arrange and record the impressions I had received in four months of incessant travelling, in the hottest season of the year, and during which I had been ten or twelve hours daily in the saddle. I used to sit and write, and sometimes dine and sleep, on the banks of the Peneus, and bathe in its stream; and regularly, morning and evening, climbed up the rocks, sometimes on the side of Ossa, sometimes on that of Olympus, to enjoy the sunrise and the sunset. Lovely as was the scene, it must have been lovelier in happier days. The shrubs and trees, on many of the elevated parts, had been recently burnt, and a great proportion of the visible parts of both mountains had been, by former burnings, (resorted to by the shepherds to obtain tender grass,) deprived of their stately forests, which were replaced by a diminutive covering of dwarf oak, oleaster, arbutus, and agnus castus. The border of the stream had just received so much culture as to deprive it of its wildness; and the stream, diminished, both in size

and rapidity, by the comparative nakedness of the mountains at the present day, had shrunk in its bed. What spot in nature could equal this, if eternal forests still crowned the bolder rocks, and if a full stream of crystal water still swelled between banks of verdure and of flowers? The vale is filled with plane-trees—it is superfluous to call them beautiful —and in a copse of these was the spot I generally chose to sit; and there nothing could equal the effect of a Tartar, or a party of travellers, dashing by, casting around them anxious looks, and starting if they chanced to observe aught that resembled a human being. On the path to Ambelakia, just when you come upon the rock after leaving Baba, there is a most beautiful point of view. Baba, its minaret, and Téké, in the midst of cypresses and fruit-trees, with a large spreading pine, stands immediately in the foreground. Close by it you have a glimpse of the Peneus, overshadowed by the platanus; the mountains then tower up on either side, and in the interval a portion of the plain of Larissa is descried. But Tempe, to be seen to advantage, must be seen by moonlight. The gloom of the frowning precipices is deeper, grander, and more consonant with the awe which such a scene, with night and loneliness, has the power to evoke.

The pass of Tempe was considered the most perilous in the whole country. Travellers used to stop at a stage distance on either side, until they negociated for guards with Captain Demo, or with the Captain of Ossa; and, even with a numerous guard, the passage was effected with alarm not

altogether unfounded. Nine men were shot on the last day of my sojourn there; yet I wandered about alone, in all directions, and at all hours, and never thought of danger. I was in a singular predicament, being treated as a friend by whatever party I met; and finally, I became even amused at the constant alarm of each for all others, while they were all very peaceable in their own way, and required but the services of some common friend to discover that they were all exceedingly well disposed towards each other. Had I resided there a month, I think I should have been in a state to grant *sauf-conduits*.

My sojourn in the vale was one continued dream. The constant excitement of the times, the incessant watchfulness of the ear for sounds of strife, the stretching of the eyes to seize each unwonted object, the interest awakened by each arrival, and the imagination unceasingly worked upon by the name of every spot on which the eye chanced to fall, produced a state of mind so full of imagery, so diversified, so vivid, and so incoherent, that I scarcely believed myself to be awake, and in the midst of realities.

There was I forcibly struck with the effect of mythology on the developement of the human intellect, its tendency to afford incitement of a higher order than physical necessity to render superstition subservient to knowledge, and ignorance to devotion. What feelings of respect inculcated—of interest awakened by this idealisation! Dryades in the forests, Naïades in the streams, Genii attached to every spot, spirits to each person, omens of each

event, knowledge of dark mysteries residing in consecrated groves, divinities upon the mountains, and the fate of man rehearsed by the stars! The power of the Creator, still undistinguished from his works, was thus venerated in their forms, and adored in their excellencies. We have commenced by learning, as children, the constant sequences that have been perceived in the material world, before we have experienced the usefulness or felt the charms of the Creator's works. It is for us, therefore impossible to conceive the imaginative and devotional existence that felt and admired without understanding. To them, a crystal or a flower was inexplicable in its beauty; it was, therefore, to be individualised to admit of the expression of admiration; it thus became the abode of a genius, or the personification of a spirit. To us, such substances are catalogued by classes and by families, or measured by angles and degrees. The stars that shone in the lonely and mysterious night could, to their eyes, be destined only to watch over the fate of men and nations. When the mysteries of their revolutions were marked by the finger of science, astrology sank to a delirium or a deceit. The sage of old might wander by night, bewildered by the sight of the starry firmament, and, in the impossibility of comprehending, he would feel more deeply; the stagnation of reason would cause the overflowing of the soul, and, without advancing in the science of astronomy, he would return from the contemplation with a brighter mind, and with purer feelings. Now, even the child will rehearse to you by rote the course

of the planets and the distances of the spheres. Flowers, streams, mountains, and stars, are shrunk to facts, and claim no longer poets for their priests. Imagination, with inverted torch, has sunk into the earth, and the universe that lived in its light has faded away. But, from mythology, that union of inquiry and devotion, sprang the literature which has, in all time, formed the noblest among the human race. He who wanders on the banks of the Peneus may still delight to inhale the atmosphere from which it drew its early breath—he will linger mid a scene over which the sun of glory has risen when that of power has set.

The village of Baba is one of the early Turkish settlements of colonists from Iconium. There are but twenty-five families now remaining, but I understood that there were not less than two Greek families, refugees from the neighbourhood, living in every Turkish establishment. But the village seemed a perfect place of tombs, and scarcely could I get a glimpse of man, woman, or child. The houses were all situated within gardens, or enclosed within mud walls, without any aperture excepting a door—not that I had scarcely ever occasion to know that the doors were possessed of the faculty of opening. The little room I occupied was conveniently placed, so as to be sheltered *from* the cool sea-breeze, that blew through the vale; it was, therefore, untenable during the day, except when wet cloths were hung all round, and water thrown on the matting. There were only two individuals belonging to the village whom I used to see. One

was my Albanian host, who, twice a day, made his appearance, with a piece of board in one hand, and a dish of yaoort and pilaf standing on it, and a melon in the other, the size of which was only rivalled by its excellence. The other individual whom, at times, I did get a glimpse of, was the sole remaining Dervish of the Téké, who, instead of going to bed like other mortals, used to roost in a tall cypress-tree in the court of the Téké, and who, evening and morning, was visible as he ascended to, or descended from, his perch.

In this Pompeii-looking place, as may be supposed, (whatever might have been the state of my wardrobe,) I was not very solicitous about my toilet. I wandered about in an old dressing-gown of green silk, a pair of yellow slippers, and a red cap. I was no sooner perceived in this costume, than a wonderful change took place in my relations with the Babaleans, for I was honoured, much to my surprise, by a visit from the five most important personages in the place: the Aga, the roosting Dervish, a man who let horses, the farrier, and the ferryman. They looked upon me in my new costume as respectable. After this event, the village assumed quite a different air; the doors were left open; the women and children walked abroad; and I was presented with sundry peskeshes (presents) of tobacco and melons, the two products for which Tempe is now celebrated.

The Aga now gave me more of his company than suited with my present humour or avocations; but he was a learned man, and peculiarly well versed in geography: and his notions were replete

with the license which seemed legitimately to belong to the ruler of the vale of the Muses. One day, as he was sitting in my little box, with his four inseparable companions, he treated us to his views respecting England, of which the following is a specimen: "All the salt water in the world belongs to England, and all the fresh water to Turkey; because the fresh water flows through the land, and is only of use to give cattle to drink, and to water fields." "But," observed the Albanian, who was standing leaning against the door-post, "has England, then, no fields nor horses to water? or do her horses drink sea-water?" "Man of the mountains," exclaimed the Aga, his convictions and his dignity equally insulted, "don't you know that England has neither fields nor horses?" The Albanian looked at me; I said to him, "Why don't you answer the Aga?" So the Arnout, after a moment's hesitation, and, with the air of an examiner in the schools, looking the Aga full in the face, and twisting his chin, said, "What *is* England?" This was a question, which perfectly perplexed the Aga. He stammered, looked round, but, being left entirely to his own resources, he at length announced England to be "a number—a very great number, of ships — of very large ships." I told him he was an honour to Baba, and ought to have been a Hadgi;—that is to say, a Hadgi Baba. He had quite hit England off; but he did not seem to be yet aware that we had flocks of fish, as they had flocks of goats; sea-horses to ride, and sea-calves to milk; though we

had yet to learn from them the elegant recreation of shooting fish.*

During my residence here, a dire misfortune fell upon their heads, and occupied all men's tongues and thoughts, almost as much as the Protocol had done to the south. This was a Firman, ordering contributions to make up the amount of the war indemnity to be paid to Russia. The district to which Baba belongs was assessed at half a million of piastres: but, as this assessment was to fall exclusively on Mussulman proprietors in easy circumstances, it created an outcry and an irritation which no words can tell. The amount of the sum was wholly insignificant as regarded the property of the country; but at least three-fourths of that property was Greek; and of the remainder, a very small proportion, indeed, was held by proprietors, who came under the head of contributors. The Coniar inhabitants of the plain are all small proprietors, but their property, individually, was below the amount which rendered them liable to the impost; the consequence naturally was, that the principal men suffered severely in their pockets, and were the more exasperated by what they considered injustice in the distribution of the tax. At

* The inhabitants of Baba suspend a piece of bread over the stream, just touching it. The small fish gather round to pick it, and large ones make darts at the small fish. The sportsman is established in the tree, with his gun pointed on the spot. His dexterity consists in knowing the ways of the large fish sufficiently to hit them at the very instant that they are getting a mouthful of minnows.

Baba it gave rise to many an angry discussion, and the Turks called the Sultan a Greek. The Turkish population bears exclusively the burden of war; they are liable to the conscription, which the Greeks are not; when the Greeks enter the military service, it is of their own free choice; and then, besides emancipation from the poll-tax, which is the equivalent for military service, they receive pay; whereas the Turks only receive pay when they enter the regular service. At the same time, too, a demand came for 1200 young men for the Nizam. It was the first attempt at conscription, and produced a universal ferment. The Turks, therefore, bitterly complained; first, of an act of despotism, which they considered intolerable; and, secondly, of the Greeks being relieved from this call, which made it fall so much more heavily on them. And, in addition to this, there was the contribution towards the indemnity to Russia, which the Greeks were not called on to pay, though, as the Turks affirmed, they had been the cause of the war, and of the success of the Russians.

## CHAPTER IV.

### CONTRASTS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND TURKEY.

The remarkable change I had perceived in the feelings of the inhabitants of Baba towards me, after I had exchanged a blue jacket for a dressing-gown, a straw-hat for a red-cap, and black boots for yellow slippers, led me to serious reflections on the principles involved in the distribution of long cloth, and of calf's leather. I had long felt that a European's dignity is lost when he gets beyond the influence of laundresses and of shoe-blacks. His costume is not made for buffeting the elements; the square cut of his tight clothes is not intended to lie down in at night, wrapped in a capote. The comfort and convenience of having the neck, arms, and legs bare; the facility of uncovering and washing them without disturbance of the dress; the support of a tight belt round the waist; the freedom of every other part of the body from all constraints, are advantages of which the Frank costume is wholly destitute. But these are advantages possessed by every costume except the mean and comfortless costume of modern Europe.

These were sufficient reasons for laying aside the "snuffers," as the Frank dress is there designated: and the incident which occurred at Baba led me to suspect that more advantages were associated with the change than the mere faculty of being decent without starch, and clean without blacking; and I was thus led to observe a number of contrasts between the habits of the East and West, which I cannot altogether pass over in silence.

There are members of the community who, enslaved and debased, amongst western nations, enjoy, throughout the East, a state of comfort and independence which is a disgrace to our (so-called) free institutions. How far the members of the community referred to are deserving of attention, may be estimated by this, that their numbers amount to very nearly the double of the other members of the community, reckoned per head. I refer to the Feet. Stuffed into black moulds, they are in Europe deprived of the common benefits of air, and too often of water, and never permitted to raise themselves from the lowliest grade of existence. But, practically conversant with this state of degradation and suffering, we,—having no knowledge of another state of things,—fancy that degradation necessary, and that suffering unavoidable. How different, however, is the state of Feet in the East! Admitted to perfect equality of rights with their brother hands, they there, also, take upon themselves an equal share of duty. No sense is offended at their presence, no aversion excited by their aspect; placed, with respect, on the great

man's sofa, or handling with dexterity the tools in the workman's stall, in the full enjoyment of light, air, and water, and making use of boots and shoes, instead of being used by them; thus preserving the original object of these institutions, which, like so many others, begotten by necessity, have become the parents of despotism. When we hear of kissing the Foot of an Eastern Monarch, what false ideas do we not present to ourselves, not only of human nature, but also of Foot-kind? We imagine the saluter to be the abject thing that could kiss the offensive slave we carry in a boot, and call a Foot. But *the* Foot (as existing in the East) is a member of no less quality than usefulness; elevated in position, educated with care, and maintained in elegant ease—*simplex munditiis.*

There the Foot rejoices in a buskin, which, in common with the covering of the head, and as in the days of Roman grandeur, denotes the quality of the man! When the festal henna imparts its dyes to the rosy fingers, it disdains not to bestow its purple on the toe; and the artful coquette, conscious of the power of a pretty Foot, calls attention thereto by dyeing the nail of the third toe, when she tinges that of the third finger.

No wonder that the distorted and indecent Foot of the West anticipates the aversion which its presence would call forth, and shrinks from a display of its ungainly forms. "Cabined, cribbed, confined," its nature becomes debased, like its fortunes; and, shorn of its natural rights, as robbed of its fair proportions, invokes the protecting covering of calf-

skin for its hunchback toes, while external grace and lustre compensate, to the helpless inmates, for the torture of corns, and the terrors of gout.

This antithesis between the habits of the East and the West, regarding so fundamental a part of society, is not the only contrast which it is curious to observe, or instructive to compare. I shall add a few more specimens, which may serve as the nucleus for a museum of Occidental and Oriental social phenomena. If travellers would commence collecting specimens, we might obtain data to guide some future Linnæus of manners, in classifying the varieties, arranging, and defining the characters of these two great genera of the human kingdom.

## CONTRASTS.

Europeans commemorate the laying of the foundation stone; Turks celebrate the covering in of the roof.

Among the Turks, a beard is a mark of dignity; with us of negligence.

Shaving the head is, with them, a custom; with us, a punishment.

We take off our gloves before our Sovereign; they cover their hands with their sleeves.

We enter an apartment with our head uncovered; they enter an apartment with the feet uncovered.

With them, the men have their necks and their arms bare; with us, women have their arms and necks naked.

With us, the women parade in gay colours, and

the men in sombre; with them, in both cases, it is the reverse.

With us, the men ogle the women; in Turkey, the women ogle the men.

With us, the lady looks shy and bashful; in Turkey, it is the gentleman.

In Europe, a lady cannot visit a gentleman; in Turkey, she can. In Turkey, a gentleman cannot visit a lady; in Europe, he can.

There the ladies *always* wear trousers, and the gentlemen sometimes petticoats.

With us, the symbol of license is the red cap; with them, it is the hat.

In our rooms the roof is white, and the wall is coloured; with them, the wall is white, and the roof is coloured.

In Turkey, there are gradations of social rank without privileges; in England, there are privileges without corresponding social distinctions.

With us, social forms and etiquette supersede domestic ties; with them, the etiquette of relationship supersedes that of society.

With us, the schoolmaster appeals to the authority of the parent; with them, the parent has to appeal to the superior authority and responsibility of the schoolmaster.

With us, a student is punished by being "confined to chapel;" with them, a scholar is punished by being excluded from the mosque.

Their children have the manners of men; our men the manners of children.

Amongst us, masters require characters with their

servants; in Turkey, servants inquire into the character of masters.*

We consider dancing a polite recreation; they consider it a disgraceful avocation.

In Turkey, religion restrains the imposition of political taxes; in England, the government imposes taxes for religion.

In England, the religion of the state exacts contributions from sectarians; in Turkey, the religion of the state protects the property of sectarians against government taxes.

An Englishman will be astonished at what he calls the absence of public credit in Turkey; the Turk will be amazed at our national debt.

The first will despise the Turks for having no organisation to facilitate exchange; the Turk will be astounded to perceive, in England, laws to impede the circulation of commerce.

The Turk will wonder how government can be carried on with divided opinions; the Englishman will not believe that, without contradiction, independence can exist.

In Turkey, commotion may exist without disaffection; in England, disaffection exists without commotion.

A European, in Turkey, will consider the administration of justice defective; a Turk, in Europe, will consider the principles of law unjust.

The first would esteem property insecure against

* This proceeds from the practice of remuneration by occasional presents, and not by fixed wages.

violence; the second would consider property insecure against law.

The first would marvel how, without lawyers, law can be administered; the second would marvel how, with lawyers, justice can be obtained.

The first would be startled at the want of a check upon the central government; the second would be amazed at the absence of control over the local administration.

We cannot conceive immutability in the principles of the state compatible with well-being; they cannot conceive that which is good and just, capable of change.

The Englishman will esteem the Turk unhappy because he has no public amusements; the Turk will reckon the man miserable who seeks amusements from home.

The Englishman will look on the Turk as destitute of taste, because he has no pictures; the Turk will consider the Englishman destitute of feeling, from his disregard of nature.

The Turk will be horrified at prostitution and bastardy; the Englishman at polygamy.

The first will be disgusted at our haughty treatment of our inferiors; the second will revolt at the purchase of slaves.

The European will term the Turk pompous and sullen; the Turk will call the European flippant and vulgar.

They will reciprocally call each other fanatic in religion—dissolute in morals—uncleanly in habits—unhappy in the developement of their sympa-

thies and their tastes—destitute severally of political freedom—and unfit for good society.

It may therefore be imagined how interesting, friendly, and harmonious must be the intercourse between the two.

The observer who, from a neutral position, marks this mutual recrimination, will perhaps conclude, that when men judge harshly of their fellows, they are nine times wrong in ten.

There is much that is burlesque, but there is not less that is serious, in the impressions received, and the conclusions drawn, by the inhabitants of either of these distinct zones of existence, when they visit the other. European travellers have been, in Europe, in contact only with the society *qui vit de ses rentes;* no sooner do they enter on the regions of the East than they are excluded from that society, and looked down on as inferiors; they are left to shift for themselves, and—to draw comparisons. Asiatics belonging to the lower orders, who visit Europe, are generally struck and shocked with the coarseness and indecency, the filthiness, and the addiction to drink and gambling which they find amongst men of their own rank; and they become sensitively alive to the severe line of separation drawn between them and their superiors. Asiatics of a higher rank have their minds more turned, in visiting Europe, to its military and naval power, to its scientific progress; and generally return its enthusiastic admirers.

The European in the East commences his observations under a sense of irritation, and, with the

habitual disposition of his age and country, he begins by reasoning, forming judgments, and drawing comparisons—so that it is not the barrier of ignorance, so much as the pernicious habits of his mind, that impede his progress. When, therefore, new facts of a moral kind present themselves, instead of being ready and anxious to grasp them, and to lay them by, he misjudges and perverts; and injures his own mind least when he rejects or neglects. As it has cost me several years of constant application to learn that I had anything beyond mere facts to acquire a knowledge of, I am naturally anxious to spare to those that may follow me in the same field the loss of time and the chances of misdirection, which I think would have been spared to myself, if any one had told me at the outset that this study did involve considerations of a far higher order,—that it did present, indeed, the only practical means of investigating the moral and social state of MAN, because here there were to be seen and estimated new facts, which, when fully comprehended, afforded the means of comparison (of thoughts, not facts) with our previous conclusions. Had such a conviction been originally implanted in my mind, I think I should have approached the East with the feelings of a child—that is, anxious to learn, not to judge—labouring to form *ideas*, not to apply *words*—and free from opinions.

Opinion has reference to judgment, and judgment is subordinate to knowledge—that is, to a correct perception of an extensive range of facts. The term is a creation of modern times, and its use

has grown with that indistinctness of ideas which it designates. A stranger to this age and quarter of the globe, whose existence had fallen in an age or in a region where men's perceptions were clearer, and their ideas more simple, would probably, in speaking of us, describe us as a people distinguished from his own by "a habit of asserting and contradicting, which they call expressing opinions." Were Socrates or Aristippus to visit again this earth, he would be more astonished at the political retrogression of modern Europe, through the division of opinion, than at its mechanical progress through the combinations of science. Indeed, he could no more render the word "*opinion*" in his own language, than it can be translated into any eastern language. If, then, the gradual loss of simplicity in the feelings and truth, in the moral perceptions, of the nations that have passed through feudalism have produced—or rather suffered to grow up—doubts in their minds, contradiction in their conclusions,—if Europe has become a vast arena of strife and hatred on every subject connected with politics, ethics, and religion, (after 300 years of acrimonious disputation,) it must be evident that the men of Europe have the faculty of creating, not of solving, difficulties. How, therefore, can they intrude on a new field without carrying thither that confusion which they have produced in their own?

But what two Englishmen can be expected to have the *same* opinion on almost any subject? Yet, what Englishman is to be found who doubts the infallibility of his own, or of the leaders of his party? Travellers from Great Britain are, like its inhabi-

tants, no longer Englishmen; they are Whigs, Tories, and Radicals. The very designation, therefore, of one who visits the East, becomes an obstacle to his investigation of the country he visits, or a cause of the misapprehension of the facts he sees.

If a traveller, arriving in England from a distant land, were desirous to ascertain the progress of England respecting chemistry, astronomy, mechanics, or geology, he would apply to Faraday, Herschel, Babbage, and Buckland; and every Englishman and every European would tell him he could adopt no better course. But, supposing he wished to know what our most advanced opinions were on the immeasurably important science of politics, to whom would he apply? Say, to Sir Robert Peel—would not the first person he came in contact with probably tell him, that he has precisely pitched upon the person least qualified to give him correct notions, and that he must go to Lord Grey? The next would warn him equally against both; and tell him that Mr. Roebuck was the sole depository of political wisdom! But are politics less worthy of the title of science than geology, chemistry, or mechanics?

Fortunately, in the present day, science is possessed of characters discernible to the inquiring mind, however ignorant it may be of the subject matter to which that science is applied; and, without such characters, science does not exist. When the Wernerian and Huttonian schools disputed between themselves every rock and every stratum of geology, was it not universally felt that geology had not been reduced to fixed principles? The

supposed oppositions were no sooner reconciled, a common theory was no sooner found to be applicable to the facts before supposed to be contradictory, than every student exclaimed "geology now *is* a science."

It is the character of science to give, by the classification of sequences, that meaning to facts that grammar does to words; and, as intelligibility in language indicates the observance of the rules of grammar, so does the common intelligence of facts indicate knowledge of them sufficiently extensive to be accurate, which is science. Then, and only then, disciples cease to doubt, and doctors to disagree.

Politics, in Europe, are wanting in these characters. They are not, therefore, a science, and each theory must of necessity be erroneous. How important is it, then, to find a new field of political inquiry, and new sequences of facts, which, while they impart new knowledge, lead to the revision of old convictions! Turkey presents such a field, and its very weakness and convulsions facilitate the anatomy of its parts. The knowledge of the state of the body in disease facilitates and indeed affords the only means of judging of health, and of discovering the means by which it can be restored.

To return to the European traveller. Arrived in the midst of habits and institutions so completely at variance with those of his own country, and struck, of course, immediately with all those things which are worse and inferior to his own country, whether

that inferiority exist in reality or not, his eyes naturally revert homewards, with a feeling of satisfaction and exultation; and, from the position on which he stands, where smaller objects are confounded or lost, he takes a more comprehensive view than, probably, he has done before, of the elements of his country's greatness; he reckons over these one by one, and then turns again to make application of each to the country in which he is.

He first, perhaps, appreciates, in England, the form of government, the settled nature of the supreme power, and the settled control over its exercise: an aristocracy, powerful by the respect of the nation, and not by its privileges; a representation of the feelings and interests of the mass of the community, not less estimable in its principles than in its action, which opens a field of distinction and ambition to those who can secure the respect of their fellow-citizens. He will then look at the administration of justice, and he will perceive judges above suspicion, juries beyond intimidation, law above wealth or power, and a citizen defended in his rights against his government. He would then turn to the practical means of strength and of defence: an enormous revenue at the disposal of the state; an army filled with the loftiest aspirations of national honour, perfect in its discipline, and imposing by its numbers; a navy, the first in character and in power; internal means of communication, the greatest prop of national prosperity, maintained by a system of roads, canals, and railroads, which is unequalled; a banking sys-

tem, which causes capital to circulate with the utmost facility; a press and a post everywhere in constant activity, which render the accumulation of knowledge and information as easy and as perfect as the circulation of material objects and of capital. These will strike him as the elements of England's greatness; and as he feels that England must descend from her rank amongst nations were she deprived of these things, so must he consider them as necessary conditions of the well-being, or permanency, of every other state: he will, indeed, conclude that these (that is, *his* estimate of them) comprehend the constituent parts of a government and a nation.

Now, in Turkey, he will perceive that they do not exist. He will find the power of the Sovereign, according to his means of judging, unlimited; he will see no permanent aristocracy, no representative chamber, no lawyers, no jury; a slender revenue accruing to the state, and extensive abuses in its collection; no standing army, or, at least, a trifling and recent one, deficient in discipline and in spirit; he will perceive the greatest difficulty in the means of internal transport; no combined banking establishments for the circulation of capital, no posts, no press, no benevolent provision for the poor; and, consequently, he will set down Turkey as a nation in a state of decay, and upon the verge of dissolution.

But, should circumstances lead him to further acquaintance with this people, he will perceive that many of the objects, and the most essential objects,

which are the ends proposed by our own institutions, are there realised, in a remarkable degree, and often to a much greater extent than amongst ourselves. He will perceive an abundance of the necessaries and the comforts of life within the reach of the whole mass of the population. He will be struck by the absence of pauperism, of litigation, and of crime; and, above all, will he have to remark an absence of party spirit and political animosity, and universal habits of submission to a government which, to him, presents none of the characters of strength. He will remark, in the absence of all combination for the facilitating of transport, of a representative chamber to watch over the interests of commerce, and of laws for the protection of native industry—a facility in all commercial transactions, incomprehensible to him who associates national prosperity with certain forms of government, and with folios of enactments. The inference is, that there must exist, in Turkey, other elements of prosperity than those upon which repose the prosperity of England, and, consequently, that the experience of England, or of any one country or system, is not sufficient to establish the laws that regulate human society; and, as he had seen nothing to lower the importance of those elementary parts above indicated, of the greatness of England, he must conclude that, with advantages which Turkey does not possess, England suffers from evils which Turkey does not know. He will, therefore, be brought back to the point from which he ought to have started, and that is, that much is

yet to be learned; that the dogmas of party, and the opinion of politicians, are not as yet infallible; and that the mind of man is a more important study, even for a statesman, than forms of government.

# CHAPTER V.

## EXPEDITION FROM SALONICA IN PURSUIT OF ROBBERS.

SUPPOSING that the reader has seen enough of Klefts or Armatoles, I will not lead him through the mountains of Piëra, which I subsequently visited, but beg him to leap over six weeks from the conclusion of the last chapter, and to fancy himself, on a bright and sunny September afternoon, which had lost somewhat of the heat, but none of the brilliancy, of the sun's midsummer rays, seated under the shade of a group of plane-trees that overshadow the tombs in face of the eastern gate of Salonica. There, while enjoying, under that elegant canopy of verdure, the fragrance of a pipe, or of a Nargilleh, and the freshness of the sea-breeze just rising out of the waters, he will perceive, issuing from the portals of the ancient walls, a gay and merry group of travellers passing along the beach, and directing their steps towards the unfrequented regions of southern Macedonia.

Foremost of this group is a Surrigée, or postilion,

whose attire seemed composed of an assortment of dirty rags, but adjusted to his person not without an air of sprightliness and grace, as if an artist had attempted to show how much that is picturesque can be made out of shreds. A white, but no longer snowy kerchief, is wound round a cap that once had been red; and the tattered embroidery of the fringe dangles on his neck, and sets off the Hindoo features (for he is a gipsy) which it shades. A tight, sleeveless jacket, fitting to the body, and an outer jacket, of which the sleeves fell back from the shoulders, give the exact outline of his chest; and the ample sleeves of his shirt, tucked in over his shoulders, leave bare his bronzed and brawny arms and neck; another white scarf is wrapped tightly round his waist, below which swell an ample pair of dingy trousers, gathered up by short stirrups on his high saddle, and terminating in the ornamental tops that hang over his travelling boots; but while the ornamental remains, the useful had vanished, and the naked toes protrude below from the boots and the shovel-stirrups. The Surrigée always leads the van, holding in his hand the halter of the baggage, or led horse, or horses; after which, immediately comes the Tartar or conductor, whoever he may be, ready to apply the whip to the lagging horse, despite the refractory postilion; then follow the gentlemen of the party.

In the present instance, it was not a Tartar who followed the baggage-horses, but two more dignified personages, as might be seen by the silver knobs of their Cavash's staves lying against the necks of

their steeds, the staves having been run through the fork of the saddle, in the open space between it and the horse's back.

With the exception of the turban, which had been replaced by the simple red cap, the Cavashes wore the ancient Turkish costume, embroidered vests, and jackets with open or hanging sleeves, and the pompous, and not inelegant shalvar; pistols and yataghan in their belt, a sabre slinging from its red silk cord over the shoulder; pistols again protruding from the holsters; a musket slung from the pommel of the saddle, on one side, and a long cloth tube, for the pipe, on the other. But the catalogue of their accoutrement is not yet complete. Two silver cartridge-boxes were strapped on behind, by a belt round the waist, and from it depended a small case, containing grease for their arms, with flint and tow; well-garnished tobacco-pouches, of embroidered cloth or velvet, dangled against their thighs; and a brown capote, tightly made up, was strapped behind the saddle. After these came something like an Osmanli, mounted on a gray mule, and beside him rode a Frank, with meagre blue cloth cap and jacket, with tight duck trousers, which, in the absence of straps, were reefed around the knee; and the cavalcade was completed by two Greek and two Turkish attendants. The gray mule *was* "Aristotle," but I was *not* "the Frank."

It had been my intention to proceed from Salonica to Monastir. The road was open; and, as neither difficulty nor danger of any kind attended the journey, my anxiety to see Monastir began to

diminish. The glimpse I had had of Mount Athos from Mount Olympus, had directed my thoughts towards the "Holy Mountain;" and the accounts which I had heard at Salonica of the distracted state of that district, and the universal opinion expressed by the *Viri consulares* at Salonica, of the impracticability of visiting it, gradually led me to the determination of paying it a visit; and it wanted but the following incident to determine me to set forward on a pilgrimage to Agion Oros.

A letter was brought by a Greek boat, from the captain of some vessel in the neighbourhood, to the English Consul, stating that it was reported that a Greek boat, from Mitylene, bound for Salonica, and having two Englishmen on board, had been captured by a Greek pirate-boat, in the Gulf of Salonica; that one of the Englishmen had been murdered, and the other detained for ransom; and that he actually was at a small island in the Gulf of Mount Athos, called by the Greeks "Amiliari," and by the Turks, "Eski Adasi." On this, the Consul required that the Pasha should take steps to ascertain the fact, and to release the Englishman. The Pasha bluntly declared that he did not know how to proceed in the matter; and I no sooner learnt this circumstance, than, supposing the unfortunate travellers to be friends of my own, I determined to proceed without delay, thinking I could easily obtain the deliverance of the survivor, by my "*chatir*"* among the Klephts. This being decided

* This word is untranslatable. Its meaning will appear subsequently, as far, at least, as it is intelligible to Europeans

on, the Pasha declared that he would not allow me to go unattended, but a couple of Cavashes should accompany me to Cassandra, where there was an influential Greek Captain; and that he and the Turkish Governor should be directed to take such steps as I judged advisable; and that boats and men should be placed at my disposal. It was but a few hours after the arrival of the intelligence, that the cavalcade above described issued from the gate of Salonica. The Frank who accompanied me was a merchant who had business at Cassandra, and who availed himself of this opportunity of proceeding thither.

The district I was now proceeding to visit was one which scarcely yielded in interest to Thessaly or to Olympus itself: not less unfrequented, for many years, by travellers; and offering, in its natural beauty, in its singular geographical conformation, and in the history and the mode of existence of two of the most extraordinary communities throughout the whole of the East, interesting and attractive subjects of investigation. This region had been selected both by Athens and by Sparta for important colonial establishments; and here, on more than one occasion, was the fate of the Peloponnesus decided. Hence was drawn the ore of those beautiful Macedonian coins which embellished the cabinet of the *virtuoso*, and without which the battles of the Granicus or Arbela never would have been won,

that is, to people among whom there is more than one standard of opinion; and who have, consequently, lost the play and interest of individual character.

nor a Grecian fleet have navigated the Indus, nor an Aristotle classified the natural history of central Asia. Here were to be sought the scoria from the long cold furnaces of Pagæ; here the groves long silent of Stagyra; here, after thirty centuries, were to be sought or seen the still doubted track of the fleets of Xerxes. But objects of more immediate interest were not wanting. The monastic rule of Athos claimed the attention of whoever took interest in all the extensive combinations associated with the Greek faith and name; and the political institutions of the flourishing communities termed the Mademo Choria, were calculated to rivet the attention of every inquirer into the state and prospects of the Ottoman Empire, or, indeed, of the science of government.

Here, too, were to be seen the effects produced by the Greek insurrection on provinces so far removed from its original focus. Mount Athos, in immediate contact, through that powerful clerical organisation, with Greece on one side, and Russia on the other, hurried the surrounding countries into a sudden and desperate revolt, while no immediate oppression could justify the act, and no chance of success could excuse the actors. The prosperous communities of the Mademo Choria saw their exaggerated expectations extinguished, together with their real prosperity; their hitherto peaceful boroughs became heaps of ashes. For ten years, Chalcidice and its three promontories had been a prey to the Klepht on land, and the

same scenes of anarchy and disorder were there enacted, to which a term had been so recently placed in the provinces of the West.

We were to sleep, the first night of our journey, at Battis, a village ten miles from Salonica. The country all around, from the shore to the hills on the north, seemed dreary and barren; the grass and shrubs were seared to sandy yellow; and the soil itself was light-coloured and sandy clay. About two miles from Salonica there was a hill of brilliant verdure, covered with vineyards. Beyond this, along the shelving hills that extended northward from the gulf, or that stretched before us into the headland of Carabournou, forming an extensive and broken amphitheatre, were to be distinguished but three tchiftliks, or farm-establishments, one single good-looking house, and a village to the left of the road, to which the eye was attracted by a coppice of cypress-trees, and a minaret in decay.

Seven miles from Salonica, we entered a narrow plain, the shore of which forms the inner angle, or bight, of the Gulf of Salonica, and through it creeps the Shabreas. It is three miles across, and sweeps up, for about fifteen miles, to the north-east, towards the mountains of Chalcidice, exposing throughout its whole extent an unbroken waste of withered herbs. The only proofs of its being available for the abode of men were two farm-offices, one cottage near the road, and, in the far distance, upon the sides of the hills, one village

and a hamlet. Yet it is but nine years since the prospect that I now looked upon was designated "the villages"!

As we wound our way round the shore of the little plain, I was amused to see enormous buffaloes lying chewing the cud in the sea, their awkward heads alone appearing above the water, their noses turned to the sea-breeze, and the rippling waves breaking over them. As we ascended the long low hill that forms the eastern side of the plain of the Shabreas, we looked back on the white walls and minarets of Salonica, with shipping riding before it. There was nothing picturesque in the sweeping lines of the bare downs and hills, but yet, whether from the strangeness of the prospect, or the lens-like effects of the evening atmosphere, there was something very pleasing,—something scenic and dream-like. No sooner, however, had we ascended the hilly ground, than, as usual, we found that cultivation which had disappeared from the plains. We were here sheltered from the blighting sight of the high road; and vineyards, and fields of cotton, Indian corn, and sesame, smiled around.

In the once considerable village of Battis there were not twenty houses roofed; they were, however, busy building, their quarry being old Hellenic blocks; and, to my horror, I saw the fragments of a statue piled in a limekiln by the hands of Greeks.*

The peasantry here presented a striking contrast

* It is generally supposed that Mussulmans mutilate and deface ancient structures. Mr. Michaud says, that "*posterity* will learn with amazement, that to the Turks we are indebted

to those of Thessaly, with hale frames and cheerful countenances, and elegantly attired in white jackets and kirtles like those of the Albanians, but without their enormous width; their turbans, belts, and other portions of their dress, which is all white, elaborately broidered in square borders, like those of shawls. This village is entirely Greek. This description would not apply to the Turkish peasant, whom I have found, in almost all parts of Macedonia, decidedly inferior to the Greek. Generally speaking, the Greek peasant degenerates in Asia, the Turkish in Europe;—that is, where they come in contact, each loses his value;—so the Turk in contact with Europeans, and the Europeans among the Turks. The two systems, when in juxtaposition, and not under the control of a mind that grasps both, are mutually destructive of each other. The moral character of both is lost, owing, I imagine, to the confusion respecting external signs, or conventional sounds, by which feelings are conveyed from man to man: a difference of language, when manners and ideas are the same, matters little; but, with different manners, ideas, and languages, men must fail in coming to a mutual understanding; ill-will and hatred are the result of intercourse without reciprocal sympathy and respect.

As the sun set, my supper was brought to me in

for the conservation of the two noblest relics of religion and the arts." Mr. Michaud's contemporaries have as much to learn, in this respect, as their posterity. There is a saying of Mahomet to this effect: Let the man be a reprobate who sells a slave, who injures a fruit-bearing tree, and who makes lime from chiseled marble.

one of those simple but delightful Kiosks, which is a mere flooring of planks, with a ledge all round to lean against, raised in some commanding position, from six to fifteen feet, on stakes, sheltered by a roofing of thatch, and reached by a ladder.

Here I sat, and saw the sun go down behind Olympus, casting its broad shadows along the Thermaïc wave; and when the rays ceased to shine on the white battlements of Thessalonica, they rose from summit to summit of the mountains of Mygdonia, whose loftiest crest still shone with evening beams, which had set for Salonica twenty minutes before. As the sun went down, the sea-breeze freshened, and it became even more than pleasantly cool. I had been, all the morning, broiling under the sun, in making my hurried preparations for departure, and the sudden change and chill of the atmosphere as suddenly brought home to me the idea of a reckoning with time, and the scoring up, as of a thing gone by, of another year, whose flight had slipped away unobserved. My days, hours, and even minutes, had been so fully occupied since the last sap had begun to rise, that I never had had time to think about time; and his course, protracted as it might have seemed from the extent of ground which I had gone over—the interest and variety of the objects which had occupied my attention, seemed, when considered as time, to have been so short as scarcely to exceed the measurement of a month or fortnight. But now the sudden chill that made me draw my cloak around me, reminded me that a whole revolution of the seasons had been nearly

completed, and that a new cipher would soon be required to designate the age of the world. There is something so expansive of existence in the association of thoughts with things, of the internal mind with external nature, that one may dwell with gratitude as well as pleasure on the spots which have called forth such associations; and it is with such a feeling that I recur to this platform at the village of Battis, where, on looking around on the vines despoiled of their blushing burden—on the leaves, delicately tinged with autumnal hues, I turned to examine and review my own internal being; and while feeling the chill of approaching winter without, I listened from within to regrets for opportunities and hours alike irrevocable, and to make resolves, perhaps not less vain, for the time to come.

This village had formerly belonged to Yousuf Pasha, by the confiscation of whose property it has now passed into the hands of government, which receives one-tenth of the gross produce. Each male adult has to pay thirty piastres, or about ten shillings, karatch; and each family fifty piastres, for what is called agalik, or the expenses of local government. But besides this, contributions have been arbitrarily raised, in consequence of the necessities or the disorders of the times, amounting to thirty piastres per fire for each three months, which will give nearly two pounds per family a year; the poorer families paying less, and the richer families paying more. The people said, they had nothing to complain of as to their contributions and taxes, but that they

were sorely oppressed by the Greek Klephts, and by the passage of Albanian Agas, and also by a debt which had formerly been contracted by the community for the purpose of constructing an aqueduct for the irrigation of their fields. This debt was 2000*l.*, at an interest of twenty per cent.: the village had contracted for it just before the breaking out of the Greek revolution, when it amounted to 280 houses, and they reckoned upon its being discharged in eighteen months; but in the interval the insurrection of Mount Athos took place, and their village was the first sacrifice that fell. It had remained for several years entirely deserted: sixty families had now returned; they would long ago have returned, and many more would return now, but for this debt, which still, of course, weighs upon the community, though the interest, during the last ten years, has been disallowed by the court of Salonica, and the depreciation of the currency has greatly reduced the original debt. Indeed, but for this depreciation of the currency, the great proportion of the country, which was devastated in consequence of sharing in the Greek revolution, would now be a desert.

From Battis to Cardia is ten miles. The road lay over an undulating country;* low brows, close

* This undulating surface is formed by a stratum of rock, of glanular and tuffolike limestone, interspersed with a few pectine and terrebratulæ, the moulds of the shells having been filled in with quartz. This layer is from three to ten feet thick; below it there is another layer of limestone, of the same thickness, but more compact, and filled with triturated shells. Under this, there are several very thin layers of clay, marl, and masses of

to us, generally formed the horizon to the left; to the right, over or between them, we had always a sight of the gulf, and Olympus rising on its opposite shore, apparently in two majestic masses. Further down could just be distinguished Ossa and Pelion, through the exhalations of the sultry day. The country now became barren and dreary; former cultivation had displaced the forests; the recent buildings of the shepherds had destroyed the underwood, and the season of the year had defaced the verdure of the lowly grass. On our left we passed Adalu, a Turkish Yuruck village of thirty families. They had also undergone the common lot of the district to which they belonged. After the Greek insurrection, the village had been given, with the others, to the flames: but they had soon returned, and were now in the same condition as that in which they were before the insurrection.

Cardia is a tchiftlik, or farm, of Achmet Bey of Salonica. It is an enclosure of 120 paces square, surrounded with cottages, granaries, stables, &c., though now they were nearly all in ruins. Before the insurrection, they worked ten yoke of cattle, of four oxen each; they have now but four, of two oxen each. The system of farming is neither that

broken shells; under this, there is yellow sand, without shells. The formation (above the sand) varies from ten to twenty feet in thickness. And in the direction of the watercourses, where the sand has been washed away from below, long narrow slips of the stratum have fallen in, and left the sections standing on either side, like walls on both sides of a road.

of the French metayer,* nor of English rent. Sometimes the farmer furnishes work, cattle, implements, and seed; sometimes the landlord furnishes one or all of these; but whoever furnishes the various portions of cattle or of labour, receives the regular proportion of the net proceeds, which is allotted to each branch of the expenditure. Thus, in the present instance, Achmet Bey furnished everything: then it will be supposed that the labourers were hired labourers, and the director of the farm an overseer. But it was not so; the farmer and the labourers had twenty-two parts of the net proceeds of every hundred, which they distributed between themselves, giving seven proportions to the farmer, at whose charge was the entertainment of guests; and reserving fifteen for the labourers, distributed according to the amount of labour which each family could furnish. The mode of distribution is as follows:—The produce is divided into masses of 110 measures; the odd ten measures are set aside as seed for the forthcoming year; ten are then set aside for the Spahilik (the tenth contributed for military service)—in the present instance Achmet Bey was himself the Spahi; ten for Zabitlik or Agalik (local expenditure); twenty-two for labour; which leaves fifty-eight of the hundred and ten for profit. If the stock had belonged to the farmers, thirty-five more would have gone to them, which would have left twenty-three per cent. of the produce of the farm as rent. The overseer told me that, after all expenses were

* Derived from the Greek terms and practice, implying partition of profits between farmer and landlord.

paid, the proprietor benefited to the amount of ten pounds for each yoke of oxen.

Wherever, throughout the East, you do get a glimpse of the foundations, you are struck with the solidity and durability of the materials. Whatever may be the prevailing ignorance—however backward may be the most essential science and practice of agriculture—however much we may lament the rudeness of the implements—the absence of improved means of transport—still, what do they not possess in that constant association of the interest of man and man—nowhere labour dependent upon hire, and nowhere the well-being of the community independent of that of its members. Fortunately, here are no laws to interfere with man's interest, or his industry; and therefore the Easterns have no philosophers reasoning upon the evils, moral, social, and political, which such laws have produced.

The Kehaya of the farm inquired very anxiously about our mode of making butter and cheese, which I took considerable pains to make him understand; and he pressed me to return next year, to see what progress he should have made.

The butter and cheese are, almost throughout the whole of the East, wretched, in consequence of the use of the milk of sheep and goats, which it is necessary to heat or boil, to cause the cream to rise; and sometimes even they render the milk sour to obtain butter, and it is generally from the milk so manipulated that they make their cheese. Our mode of making butter from cream thrown up by cold milk originates in our early practice of using

cow's milk, which Eastern nations have not done—from, I believe, a reason peculiar to the cattle of the East, which will be understood by residents in India. To this practice is to be ascribed the excellence of our butter, and perhaps to that the peculiarity in England of a distinct character in the morning and evening meal, which is spreading to other lands with the use of butter.

This was a festal-day—the fête of the Agia Lechousa; and though there was not a sufficient crowd for people to be merry or boisterous, they were all dressed out as if intending to be so; and regretted very much that they were not at Salonica, where the peasantry assemble on this day from all the country around, and go about in their various and gay costumes, dancing and singing as their fellows in England do, or used to do, on the first of May. But no rural joys, or simple sports, can survive the obliteration of the national costume of a peasantry; and if ever the peasants of Cardia put on cloth trousers or gingham petticoats, they will leave the dancing on Agia Lechousa to chimney-sweeps, (the only original dressers now in England,) or to those who would be chimney-sweeps—if there were coal measures in Roumeli.

The women's costume is everywhere varying: here they wore little cylinders on their heads, which are composed of a pasteboard mould, the upper part filled with dough, and the lower with cotton; over this is tied a white handkerchief, that falls over the shoulder: by no means an uncomely accompaniment to a pretty face.

We spent the greater portion of the day at Cardia. It was evening before we set out for Soufular, a village only three miles distant. The prospect was now more open, shelving down to the sea, and extending northward to the hills, once celebrated for their rich ores, and amongst which are situated the 360 villages known under the name of Mademo Choria, aud Sidero Karps. But still nothing met the eye but yellow barrenness, where not a vestige, a tree, or a broken rock, interfered with the smoothness of the undulating surface, until we came in sight of the village of Soufular, and there we saw three large square towers, one ruined, (Metochi, or farms belonging to the monasterios,) standing at a little distance from each other on the bare plain between us and the sea. There did not appear to be a shrub or a wall in the vicinity—they stood alone like relics of a former age. The landscape was a singular combination of broad unmixed colours: the yellow land spread below and around us—beyond it lay the deep blue sea—behind arose brown hills, with gray hills in the misty distance across the Gulf. There were no details whatever to fill up the ground, or to break the outlines—there were no tints to mingle the colours: the landscape looked like a table of inlaid marble.

Soon after leaving Cardia, as we turned the crest of a hill, we suddenly came on a group of nine peasants in a circle, locked arm-in-arm, and dancing, or rather leaping together, to the sound of a bagpipe, the musician standing in the centre. On this landscape, which looked so like a study of the old

Florentine school, these gaily attired peasantry dancing on the hill-side seemed a group of Perugino's Muses, just leapt from the canvass. At Soufular we stopped to take our evening meal, which we did under a mulberry-tree, to the light of slips of resinous fir placed to burn upon an iron tripod; and, while my companions lay down to snatch an hour's rest till the moon had risen, I enjoyed an hour's *tête-à-tête* with my note-book. But I shall never take up my position again under mulberry-trees, in the neighbourhood of a cottage. There is a small insect which has an equal predilection for two-footed animals, whether they be *plumis* or *implumis*, which makes the place where poultry roost a dangerous neighbourhood. Four hours after sunset we were again *en route*, with a brilliant full moon, and in two hours found ourselves on the site of Potidæa, now called Porta, which gives entrance by a narrow isthmus to the peninsula formerly called Pallenæ, and now Cassandra. A rampart, with turrets, stretches from shore to shore; and by the moonlight we could distinguish the rectangular chiselling of the Hellenic blocks, that once defended this flourishing and warlike city. The Aga got out of bed to receive us: coffee was ordered, and first presented to my Cavashes, whom, with my growing knowledge of etiquette, I had been able hitherto to keep in their places. I got up, left the Kiosk, and had coffee prepared for me and served in the open court: the Aga soon came and sat below me, and wathere served by my servant. When afterwards

the Cavashes came from their Backshish, I gave them none.

After entering the peninsula, and threading our way for three hours through brushwood, and a straggling forest of young fir, we reached an eminence whence clear land and cultivated fields spread before us, and the Toronaïc Gulf broke upon us. The morning star hung over the high land of the promontory of Sithonia; the cone of Mount Athos could mistily be distinguished immediately under the star, between the dark outline of Sithonia and the red streak of the Eastern horizon, the warm tints of which were repeated on the polished surface of the intervening Gulf. The foreground, and the forests of Pallene on the right, were touched with silvery light from the coldly bright moon behind us, which blanched before the breaking day, but struggled still with its crimson beams.

## CHAPTER VI.

### CASSANDRA.

I ARRIVED at Atheto as the sun rose, and found the whole place in motion. An expedition was just starting against the robbers of the mainland, headed by the father of Captain Anastasi, to whom my letters from the Pasha were addressed. Amidst the indignation that prevailed against the Klephts, and the excitement of the enterprise in which the whole population was interested, the additional grievance of which I bore the intelligence, and for which I came to claim redress, was hailed as an accession of strength, and I was invited to join the expedition. This would certainly have been as good a means as any for obtaining a clue to the detained Englishman, while affording me an opportunity which I might not meet with again for visiting the remainder of Chalcidice and Mount Athos. I therefore gladly accepted the invitation, and we all repaired to the elevated Kiosk in front of the Captain's house, to talk the matter over. But when I looked down upon the lakelike Gulf, tranquil as a sleeping child, and on the prospect from the low plain of Olynthus

to the shelving hills and headlands of Pallene, running out beyond each other in parallel lines, fringed with forests, and falling each in succession, by little precipices, into the Gulf—I was riveted by the soft beauty of the morning view, and by its shadowy halo of ancient glories; and, yielding to the emotions that stole over me, my head declined on the cushion of the Kiosk, and I fell—fast asleep. No doubt the night's ride contributed to this effect, no less than the past glories of Chalcidice, or the present beauties of the Gulf of Cassandra. When I awoke, silence reigned around; the noisy Palekars were already on the distant hills; in the village not a soul was to be seen—not a sound to be heard; the sun reigned in a cloudless sky, and not a breath of air disputed the empire of calm over the wide expanse of waters. I broke through this solemn stillness of nature, and this repose of Atheto, by calling aloud for water and for breakfast.

Having thus, by my own remissness, lost an opportunity which I had decided on taking advantage of, I commenced, like my countrymen, to put forward a public motive to justify my private negligence. Nothing, I reflected, was more unworthy of an independent mind than association with party. A party man—is he not one who adopts the opinion of ten millions of his fellow-citizens, and reprobates the opinion of as many more? The first is servility—the second, monstrous presumption, and the party man is thus at once base and overbearing; and that, because he has not the common sense to perceive that, when masses of men have before them the

same facts, they can only disagree because their common faculty of judgment has been impaired, and the opinions of all parties must, under such circumstances, be incorrect.

I had had the good fortune, among that class of men called Klephts and bandits, to have hitherto stood well with all parties: was I not therefore very lucky in having escaped committing myself to either party, by joining this expedition? The independent position I still maintained, might it not be more conducive to the relief of my friend, caverned in the Pirate's isle, than the muskets of thirty Armatoles? Having satisfied my mind on this point, I proceeded to detail, more circumstantially, to Captain Anastasi, the business about which I had come, and to inquire into his opinions respecting the steps that ought to be taken. He suggested our adjourning to the Turkish Aga's, and thither we accordingly repaired.

The Cavashes were called; one was sent to announce our approach, and one preceded us, as we leisurely wended our way; the Captain walked beside me; immediately behind came my body-guard and interpreter Hadji, with whom the reader will become better acquainted by and by; the tail was formed by the Turkish attendants of the Cavashes, and a dozen of Captain Anastasi's men. As we proceeded, the villagers turned out respectfully before their doors, or dismounted from their horses; and before we arrived at the Aga's Konak, I had become wonderfully satisfied with the whole village of Atheto. Charged with an important

mission, bearing a letter from the viceroy of the province, surrounded by the executive force of the district, I expected, of course, to find the Aga waiting at his door. We came presently in sight of the Konak; no Aga was to be seen, no guards drawn out; unobserved and unannounced we walked up the ladder, to a not very elegant Kiosk, where his governorship, a little brown-faced and insignificant individual, lay reclining at his length on the sofa, in defiance of all Eastern decorum. He barely noticed the Captain, and cast a glance, which scarcely condescended to be contemptuous, on "*the Frank.*" We sat down, nevertheless: he then turned a pair of small black eyes upon us, and had not a word to say, even about our health. The Captain presently exposed the cause of our visit, to which he may have listened, but to which he vouchsafed no reply. My letter was handed to him, which he in turn handed to a Gramanaticos, telling us we might return in the evening, as he was then suffering from the ague. As we left the Konak, the Captain, evidently incensed at our reception, told me that he, the Aga, was the greatest villain unhung; that he was no Turk, but a Christian renegade; that he drove all sorts of trades—lent money on usury—bought the produce to sell it again, combining the insolence of office with the chicane of a pedler, and that he believed him in league with the pirates; that he was irritated by my interference respecting the robbers, but more particularly by the arrival in the Peninsula of a rival and competitor, in the person of the merchant who accompanied me.

The conference which we had during the evening, justified the opinions and suspicions of Captain Anastasi. The Aga commenced by informing me, that the letter I had brought was only a letter of introduction for myself; and as for the affair of the robbery, that it would require three months to make the requisite inquiries. Captain Anastasi here interposed, and said that he could, within a single hour, despatch a couple of boats round into the Gulf of Mount Athos, while he should send to his father to strike down on the Isthmus; so that it would be impossible for the bandits to escape either by sea or land. The Aga listened till he had done, then answered as follows:—"Christian; don't you see that it is *you* that the Frank accuses of having robbed and murdered his countrymen? And he says, the watch you wear is a robbed watch."

I was struck mute by the audacious villany; the Captain gave one glance at a truly English chain and bunch of gold seals which hung from his breast, and by which, no doubt, hung a tale; and then another of scrutiny at me; satisfied by my look of astonishment and indignation, he quietly got up and observed, with a coolness by no means comforting, "Aga! mount your horse and ride away, without bidding us good-bye? If you sleep this night in this Konak, you will need no Capote to keep off the ague shivers." And so saying he stalked forth, and I followed. He turned round and said, with equal placidity as before, "I am going to make a bonfire of Atheto to-night; I am going to impale that lying renegade. I have two boats, they will

hold all my men, and there will be room for you if you like." After thanking him for his generous offer, I proceeded to urge various reasons for passing the night without taking the trouble of impaling the Aga or burning the town; but it was not till after I had examined the watch, been told at what shop he had bought it at Salonica, and declared it to be in no ways even like to an English watch, (it had "J." or "G. Grant" written on the dial,) that I got the illumination and the impaling postponed.

The Aga, apparently more exasperated than intimidated, although he was destitute of the slightest means of defence, sent for the Cavashes; and, without consulting me, they were despatched to Salonica. He then sent for my servant Hadji, and asked him if his master knew that he (the Aga) had Anatolian blood in his veins? Did I imagine that I was come there to insult him, or did I trust to the empty threats of Captain Anastasi, who would pay dearly for his insolence?—that if I remained quiet I might stay as long as I liked at Atheto, and that good quarters would be given me; but he was Voivode there, and knew how robbers were to be treated;—that the other Frank, who came to look after bees'-wax and cotton, must quit immediately, otherwise he would have us both bastinadoed. On the receipt of this message, I instantly went back to the Aga's Konak; and, walking in with my firman in one hand, and a stout stick in the other, I seated myself at the top of the room. My servant would not interpret, but

I knew the Aga spoke Greek, so I took the opportunity, without infringement of decorum, of showing my knowledge of the details of his administration. The result of this step was, that the Aga, passing from insolence to meanness, declared that Hadji had told me a string of falsehoods, and that he had the greatest possible respect and regard for me.

We ascertained next day, that the supposed "Englishmen" had been Maltese or Ionians; though, indeed, the ubiquious Mr. Wolf's miraculous escape from pirates, about the same place and time, leaving all his worldly possessions in their hands, might have been the foundation of the report of the capture of an Englishman. I therefore resolved on spending some days at Atheto, and visiting in detail the Peninsula, thinking I should be no further molested by the Aga; but, on starting for this expedition with the Salonica merchant, who in reality was going to look after "the bees'-wax and cotton" of the villages, the Aga sent to stop us. I rode up to his Konak; he stood on the staircase outside of his house; he ordered me to dismount, and then called out to his people to seize me; they showed no disposition to venture on that duty; he vociferated; they one by one disappeared, and he re-entered, as if to order them out again: finding no practical obstacle placed to my departure, I rejoined the party which had waited at a little distance, and we proceeded to explore the Peninsula, and shaped our course to the south-west: but I anticipate.

I spent very pleasantly, and not without profit, the three days I remained at Atheto. I obtained the following details respecting the Peninsula of Cassandra. Before the Greek insurrection, it contained 700 families—600 of small proprietors, and 100 families of farmers, on the Chiftlics or Metochia of the monasteries of Athos; they had then 500 yokes of oxen, which averaged five heads of cattle to each yoke. In estimating the number of cattle in these countries, it is essential to ascertain the number of cattle which are reckoned to a yoke; these vary according to the circumstances of the farmer, and of the country, but the numbers are far more materially affected by the structure of the plough. These are of three kinds: the first is the Grecian plough, the plough of Triptolemus, which preserves the original character of the implement—a branch with a double fork—the branch made fast to the horns of the oxen, and scraping the soil with its inverted prong. With this plough never more than one pair of oxen is used, though peasants in easy circumstances keep three cattle as belonging to one yoke; and the more so, as many of the municipal imposts are apportioned to the number of yokes.

The second plough is the Bulgarian, having a share exactly like our deep-soil ploughs, which cuts deep into the earth, and turns it well over; but the wing is spread so far out—sometimes eighteen inches, and the angle of the share is so obtuse, that the greatest efforts are required to drag it through the ground; and the furrow, instead of

turning over on its edge, is thrown the whole width of the share from its original position. A large plough of this description, in deep soil, will sometimes require seven pair of buffaloes and oxen, with three or four men. Whenever, therefore, there are four or more oxen to a yoke, the plough used is some variety of the Bulgarian plough, which would be an excellent plough if the wing lay closer to the stock: with this trifling alteration, triple the work might be done by the same cattle.

The third plough is a sort of hoe reversed, and dragged by two shafts to a single ox: this I have seen in the higher parts of Macedonia, but it is now only used in the culture of the abrupt sides of hills. This is, I believe, the original Sclavonic plough.

The Peninsula was thus inhabited by 700 families, who were proprietors of 2500 head of oxen, besides cows and horses, and flocks of sheep and goats, to the amount of from 20 to 30,000. The wealth, in equality, distribution, and amount, of this population, thus surpassed that of any similar community of Western Europe. It enjoyed civil, religious, and municipal rights, actually unknown to the nations of the West.

Such was the condition of the Peninsula when news arrived of an insurrection in Moldavia, closely followed by intelligence of a rising of the Greeks in Constantinople itself: then came rumours of the march of a Russian army—then reached them the

echoes of "Genos" and "Eleutheria," from the Peloponnesus and continental Greece. "What did we know," said the Primate, "about such things? We thought the end of the world had come: we could only consult the monks of the Mountain: it was only from them that we could know what was doing elsewhere; and they told us that the Ottoman government was overthrown, and if we did not make haste to revolt, we should be considered as men without souls and without faith, and might be even punished as traitors. We consequently had a public meeting, and it was unanimously decided that we should revolt, and the whole assembly shouted—'Let us revolt' (*na apanastisomen.*) After this, all the people collected cried out—'Let us revolt;' and the Primates went to the Turkish Aga, and we told him that we were going to revolt." The remonstrance of the Aga might, perhaps, be rendered in their own language; but it is not translatable in its eloquent *naïveté*. This proving ineffectual, and the Aga himself being overpowered and confounded by the rhetoric of the monk who acted as interlocutor, and who showed, by unanswerable arguments, that Turkey was already overthrown—arguments which have become perfect in Athos by constant use for the last 300 years—the Aga finally declared that he too "would revolt:" at least, that he would not quit them.

Priests were now sent to Odessa and to Greece to proclaim the decision of Cassandra, and to suggest the best mode of turning to account the

ammunition, provisions, artillery, men of war, &c. &c. &c., that, of course, would be sent to their assistance.

During several months they were left, unheeded by their friends, and unmolested by their foes; but over this external calm and apparent repose stole fearful hours of self-examination and reproach—emissary after emissary was sent both to the north and the south. Magnesia and Cara Veria, in Macedonia, had revolted, but no extensive region north of Acarnania and Thermopylæ had joined the insurrection; and soon dark foreboding stole to the heart, and words of fear escaped from the lips of the agitated community of Cassandra. They now despatched their Aga to sue for mercy and forgiveness; but the blood-thirsty Abul Abut had not forgotten them, and his vengeance, though delayed, was not the less sure: he at length marched at the head of 3,000 men. The youth of Cassandra assembled on the neck of the Isthmus, where they had a very defensible position, and where, at least, terms might have been obtained; but, although they were well armed, they were not supplied with that compound which has become, in these latter days, the spirit of the battle, and the alchemy of power. Abul Abut was, however, delayed a few days in making preparations to force the entrenchments of the Peninsula, for which it was necessary to send to Salonica for guns. In this moment of fearful suspense, the glad news was spread from mouth to mouth of the arrival of real and tangible succour from the Emperor of all the Russias. Two

of the emissaries had returned; they were conducted by the Primates of Atheto to the camp behind the wall of the Isthmus, and displayed, before the expectant eyes of the devoted band, the tokens of sympathy and the amount of succour which they had brought; and these were—reader, faint not! —three cotton flags from Hydra;—a piece of the executed Patriarch's pontifical robe, with two barrels of gunpowder from Odessa.

Abul Abut entered the Peninsula that night. Three hundred men, taken in arms, became food for the cimeter's devouring tooth—two hundred families had already escaped, or now found means of escape—the houses of the fugitives were razed or burnt—two or three Turkish soldiers were quartered on each remaining family; and, when the Turks departed from the exhausted land, the bandit and pirate completed the destruction that insurrection and subjugation had only begun. The distracted peasantry flying from this doomed region, it was left wholly untenanted for two years; and thus finally was crowned with success in the Peninsula of Cassandra, that demon policy which, since 1770, has reflectively based its action on such scenes as these.

The sack of Cassandra quelled the insurrectionary spirit in Thessaly and Macedonia, and was soon followed by similar vengeance taken on Magnesia and Cara Veria. Here, for the first time, the Turks sold Greeks as slaves. This circumstance contributed, powerfully, to the exasperation in Europe against the Turks, and consequently matured that

policy of which one cycle was completed by the treaty of the 6th July.

It is strange that, in all that has been written about Greece, a parallel has never been drawn between the intervention of the triple alliance and that of the Romans. Between these events there are coincidences of the most remarkable description; for instance, Philip, by the sack of Olynthus, (three miles from Potidæa,) and the sale of its inhabitants as slaves, struck terror into the neighbouring regions, and reduced the insurrections in Magnesia and Northern Thessaly. This act of cruelty was represented by the Ælotians to the Romans, and further excited them against Philip. These ravages became, subsequently, the chief grounds of debate; Philip declaring he would make no compensation beyond sending plants and gardeners. Then came the battle of Cynocephale, and the proclamation of the independence of Greece, at the Isthmian games—the battle of Navarino, and the assertion of the independence of Greece by the allies—then the establishment of a Greek tyrant at Argos, supported against his country by his country's protectors. The Greeks of old at first attempted, as recently, by the most constitutional means, to enlighten their protectors, and to restrain their tyrant; and, strange to say, assembled for that purpose in the same village, as insignificant then as it is now. Deputies from all Greece were assembled at Calauria, (Poros,) in a species of representative assembly—Strabo calls it Αμφικτυονία τις. Precisely such was the first open opposition to

Capodistrias;—then followed the assassination of Nabis, at Argos—of Capodistrias, at Nauplia. The Romans then assumed possession of the country, but without interfering with commerce or industry, the election of municipal officers, &c.: they imposed no financial system of their own—laid no debt on the people, and burdened the state with no representation for which it was inadequate. Greece consequently sunk only by slow degrees, and lived on for centuries. The allies have given to Greece the forms of independence; address it with lofty expressions; but its commerce is interfered with—its immemorial institutions are rooted up—its real freedom is gone: pauperism—diversity of opinion—distinct and hostile interests between class and class—severity of punishments—inefficiency of law—troops—swarms of public functionaries, and all the other circumstances, moral and political, of western state-economy, are fallen upon her: besides this, extravagance of habits and embarrassment of affairs, which place before her the alternative of bankruptcy or foreign bondage, with the certainty of both.

But to return to Cassandra. About three years ago, Omir Vrionis, pasha of Salonica, receiving numerous applications from the refugees scattered over Greece and Macedonia, took measures for re-establishing them in Cassandra. Two hundred families were collected. The Pasha told them that it would be of no use to give them Turks to protect them, for that, in the actual state of land and sea, would lead to the destruction of

both; but desired them to select, from among the Klephts, a captain who should protect them by his "Chatir."

This Captain, with thirty or forty men, would of course be wholly unable to protect the shores of so extensive a Peninsula. The security expected from the arrangement lay in the respect of the other Klephts for the "bread" of one who had been their comrade. The inhabitants chose Captain Anastasi, but he had joined the Greeks; nevertheless, a buyourdi was addressed to him by the Pasha, with letters from the Primates and the Archbishop of Salonica. On the joint demand of the Primates and Archbishop, a firman was issued by the Porte, naming Anastasi Captain of Cassandra, and emancipating him and his followers from all taxes; and a contract was entered into between him and the Primates of the district, stipulating the amount of his allowance and the pay of his men, legalised by the seal of the Cadi of Salonica. I mention these details in illustration of the habits of the people, and of the system of the administration.

Since that period, Cassandra had enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity. The fields were coming again into cultivation—the houses rising from their ruins. Individuals and whole families, deemed lost, were daily re-appearing, and the only source of anxiety or alarm was the exhibition of some royal *penchants* on the part of Captain Anastasi. To place a check on these, the people bethought themselves of petitioning the Pasha for the re-investiture of their former Aga, who was also a

proprietor in the district. The Pasha took the hint, but neglected the recommendation, and sent them, a few months before my arrival, the dastardly renegade already described, who had the merit of being the Pasha's brother-in-law.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE HELEN OF CASSANDRA.

At Atheto I was the guest of the Primate. He had lost two sons in the insurrection, and had carried two daughters with him in his flight to Greece: one alone survived, a girl of eighteen, who, in spite of my remonstrances, suffered no one else to present coffee, or to pour water over my hands before and after meals. It is only the shallow vanity of a painter or a poet that can attempt to describe beauty; and if glowing rhyme and tinted pencil fail in the unequal task, what can avail prose without license, and words without colour? I will not, therefore, attempt to describe this maiden, and will only say that she was eighteen, and a Greek. Blooming she was not; a shadow of care, and a tinge of suffering, not yet quite pencilled upon the outward form, could be traced through a fixedness of eye and feature, which might be the natural result of the alarms midst which her youth had ripened and her beauty bloomed; but which suited

ill with her sprightly attire, and the strings of shining coin that encircled her forehead, and the plates of gold that heaved upon her bosom. Except the formal salutation in presenting refreshment, I did not hear a sentence fall from the lips of this mysterious daughter of the isles. Still, though unspeaking, was she ever watchful and sedulous in her matronly charge of hospitable duties. The Klephts and Pirates were, principally, the objects of my inquiries, and more especially the band which had captured the boat from Mitylene. When the conversation took place at her father's, Aglaë used to approach and listen with an abstracted air; and on one occasion, when we were talking of the facility with which they might be circumvented and cut off, my eyes accidentally fell upon her, and she stood a perfect image of horror. Her mind is agitated, I thought, with the recollection of some hair-breadth escape from these savage men in their wrath.

The morning of my departure I was surprised, on awaking, to see a young man lying at his full length on the sill of a door which from the inner apartment opened into the room in which I slept. I suspected that the young man had been placed there as a guardian of the Gynæceum. Such a thing in any Eastern land, unfamiliarised with Europeans, would be incredible, and this was sinking one to the level of a Frank; I therefore took occasion to request an explanation of the father. After a short pause, he said, "I am a very miserable man; we have all been miserable, and my

misery is no more than that of the rest: but it is longer and deeper, and it has come when others rejoice, and it springs from that which I expected to have been the source of the happiness of my old age." He here paused; a vague sense of apprehension and curiosity took possession of me: was Aglaë the source of her father's misery—of what guilt could she bear the impress—of what crime the sear? The old man continued—"I had hoped you would not have observed that young man; he is not of my blood, but he is of my family, and he has made a vow to sleep every night before my daughter's door." He then related, at some length, the story which, in fewer words, I shall repeat.

On the revolt of Cassandra, the Primate of Atheto, with his wife and daughters, had fled to Greece, and taken up their abode with a Primate of Talanti, in the Gulf of Volo. Great affection had grown up between the two families. The Primate of Talanti had two sons, the elder of them was betrothed to Aglaë, who had reached the age of fourteen; her betrothed was only four years older. But soon after the waves of devastation flowed and ebbed over the plains of Phocis and Bœotia. Talanti became, successively, the prey of Greeks and Turks, and the refugees of Atheto had again to fly from the smoking ruins of their adopted home. Their host, with his family, had directed his steps to the West, while Aglaë and her father found means to escape to Salonica, and had subsequently returned thence to Atheto. The two families being now entirely separated, my host thought of annulling his daughter's

engagement, and finding for her a more suitable match amongst the Primates of the neighbourhood. His friend of Talanti was of the same opinion, his sons having entered the service in Greece, where now their fortunes were to be pushed. The young couple, however, were by no means of the same opinion; and the father, probably, was not the best historian to record the stealthy tokens of affection, and the vows of constancy, that found their way across the Egean. When he opened to his daughter this resolution, she fixed her eyes upon him, and said, "Father, you gave my hand, and you told me to give my heart, and I did so: you now take back my hand, but I cannot take back my heart." The father thought, as fathers sometimes do, that time would mature her judgment, and soften her regrets. Two years had passed by, while he was congratulating himself that Aglaë was forgetting her swain of Talanti. At length, however, his choice had been made, and a day of so-called merriment was fixed, when the chosen suitor was to be formally introduced to his expected bride, and when a new betrothed was to "crown" the widowed virgin and the unwon mistress. The future son-in-law had just arrived from Polygiro, escorted by his friends, and the Primates and the neighbours, assembled from all the country around, were seated in the Kiosk of Captain Anastasi, on the cliff which overlooks the landing-place, when a mystico was descried making its way over the still waters with splashing oars, and waving from the peak of its fourth latine yard a Greek ensign. It pulled

straight for Atheto, and, as it approached, they saw it filled with armed men. So frail a craft did not come alone, or in the face of the sun, for evil or in hate: they are Helenes from afar, or Klephts from Scopelos, who have come to fill a bumper to the lily of Cassandra, and to tread a measure on the betrothal night of Aglaë. The guests rushed down to the beach to welcome the strangers, and—they were Greeks—to ask the news. The keel of the mystico ploughed the sand of the beach—a single youth leapt into the water—he was followed by another—the mystico was shoved off, and directed her course towards the opposite Peninsula of Sithonia. The people on the shore, astonished at a proceeding so abrupt, crowded round the two young men, inquiring whence they came, whither they were going, and what they sought. The eldest replied, "We are your guests, and we have come to make merry at the betrothal of Aglaë." The bridegroom elect welcomed and conducted them to the village, and presented to his astounded father-in-law the betrothed of his daughter!

There was no merriment that night at Atheto; the Church and Priest for once stepped forward to protect the crossed in love; and the hearts that quaked with fear the night before, had now ceased to beat with the tortures of alarm, though they scarcely yet ventured to swell with the palpitation of hope. Aglaë's heart had triumphed over her father's will, but still his pride was to be appeased. The term of a year's probation had been fixed upon to prove her lover; and he and his brother, during

the whole of that time, had laboured in the old man's fields, and taken the place of the sons he had lost. It wanted only a few but long days to fulfil this period of apprenticeship, when the renegade Aga arrived in the village. He slept the first night at the house of the Primate; Aglaë had presented to him the first cup of coffee he had drunk in Athe-to; a powerful potion it had been, for it had disordered his heart or his senses. It was but darkly that were hinted to me the wiles which had been used, the threats which had been employed, or the brilliant offers which had subsequently been resorted to, to obtain the hand of this Helen of Cassandra. But, unlike the Helen of yore, blandishments and wealth had been treated with equal disdain as wiles and menaces; but disappointments were gusts of wind to the flame of the Anatolian. A small detachment having been sent from Salonica, he ventured on a bolder course, and had his rival seized and dragged before him, charged with some crime. The young Greek met the charge with scorn, and his judge with defiance. The Aga seized a balta, or small metal hatchet, intended as an emblem of power, but not as an instrument of execution. The Greek, as he sprang on the Aga, was laid hold of by the guards, and in the struggle his side was gashed from the back of the arm-pit down the ribs by the balta of the Governor. In this state he was conveyed to a sort of cage or prison, which the Aga had had made in the lower part of his Conack. The Conack was soon surrounded by the infuriated inhabitants, and would have been immediately razed

to the ground, had it not been for the presence of the newly-arrived Turkish soldiers, who, from the barricadoed windows, prepared to repel violence with force. The people now retreated beyond musket range, and commenced preparing for action the houses that overlooked the Conack. Captain Anastasi, however, succeeded in restoring tranquillity; and the Turkish soldiers, on being informed of the real state of the case, became no less indignant than the Greeks; but they were afraid of taking part openly against the Aga; and as the young Greek, though severely wounded, had neither bones nor limbs injured, they planned a simulated escape; and Captain Anastasi prepared a boat to convey him to Greece. But the young man, once at liberty, refused to quit the country: he would not leave the land of his Aglaë; and, besides, he now had his new debt of blood to repay. He joined the bandits—he was numbered among the very party that had captured the boat from Mitylene, in pursuit of whom I had undertaken this journey; and to compass whose destruction our daily meetings were held in the house of the Primate, and in the presence of Aglaë!

My host, on perceiving the conduct of the Aga to me, had anticipated the possibility of my getting him removed. I need not say that I warmly enlisted in this service; the result of my endeavours will appear in due time.

The young man who had slept at Aglaë's door was the brother of her betrothed.

## CHAPTER VIII.

ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES AT ATHETO AND OLYNTHUS—FEAST OF ROBBERS AND ROBBED—INFLUENCE OF SCHOOLS—MANUFACTURES OF CHALCIDICE—SCHEMES OF THE ARMATOLES.

My host the Primate had scarcely concluded his narration of the insurrection in the Peninsula, in the course of which I had learned so much to prepossess me in favour of their former Governor, when an Osmanli entered the room, and saluted me with "Selam Aleikum!"* This was the first time that such a sound had struck upon my ear, as addressed to myself, and could not fail to awaken curiosity and interest with respect to my visiter. My anticipations were not disappointed, nor my interest diminished, when I learnt that the stranger was Hassan Aga, the former Governor of Cassandra: from that moment he never quitted me till I was again without the gates of Cassandra.

* "Peace be with us!" This salutation, with the accompanying external sign of laying the hand on the heart, or carrying it to the lips and forehead, is never, in Turkey, given by a Mussulman to an individual professing another creed.

There are scattered around Atheto well-chiseled remnants of Hellenic strength and splendour. There were also indications of its having been selected for a Venetian settlement; as what spot of strength and importance has not been? I was taken by the Palikars to see the entrance of a subterranean passage, which they said communicated with the centre of the Peninsula. There was a low entrance between two perpendicular hewn stones, just large enough for a person to squeeze himself through on all-fours. No one, they said, had ever ventured to enter; and they related to me the mishap of two young men who had entered a similar passage on the other shore, and who had returned bereft of their reason. The entrance had been closed to prevent similar accidents. I sent for a light, to see how far I could penetrate; and Hassan Aga, after attempting, with the rest, to dissuade, declared he would accompany me. I led the van, and he brought up the rear; and, after crawling in for three yards, we found ourselves in an open space like a large oven: it was the top part of a Roman arch, filled up with earth and rubbish; this was all. We now bethought ourselves how to turn to account, for our own amusement, the superstitious dread of the folks without. Blowing out our lights, (for we had each a candle,) we crept close to the orifice, round which the Palikars were assembled; and during half an hour, and for a long time after they thought us finally and irrecoverably lost, we had that gratification that ghosts are said to enjoy who sit beside their graves, and hear all

their virtues and their merits discussed by the disconsolate friends they have left behind. As for me, I was a stranger, and there was little to be expected, except in so far as it was advantageous to ascertain the real thoughts of the guardians of Atheto respecting the pursuit and capture of the Klephts. Poor Hassan Aga was the sufferer; and he might have learned something worth knowing, if he had not known it already, respecting the views of the Greek Palikars, on the many important subjects connected with the Voyvodalic of Cassandra. At length one of the party observed, that though we had been in the earth so long, still we might return; that a stone or two might be so placed as to prevent other people from tempting Providence by entering such places; that the Frank knew a great deal too much about Klephts in general, and about them in particular, and that he was just as well where he now was as anywhere else; that Hassan Aga was no friend to them; and that since he and the Frank had become such great friends, and since the Frank had been insulted by the reigning Aga, something might be brewing between the two, which was much better under than above ground; that, after all, if they never did return, it would only be a couple of heretics and infidels the less. This might be a good joke to them, but it was no joke at all to us; so, without announcement, we hastened to present ourselves before them. They were immediately talking on all other subjects, devoutly crossed themselves, congratulated us on our return to the world and sun, and asked what

treasures we had found. We answered, "Nothing, nothing!—a low narrow passage filled with mud, dirt, and stones—thank God, we are back again;" I endeavouring, all the while, to appear anxious to lead them away in one direction, while Hassan Aga pretended to sidle away in another, showing that he was concealing from observation a heap of rubbish gathered up in the folds of his binish. "Oh, oh!" they exclaimed, "you have found a treasure, have you?" running after Hassan Aga, and pulling him, apparently in jest, but with a keen eye, the while, to business. I stepped out to rescue; Hassan Aga clenched his folds, with the air of a man prepared to die for his pelf. The Palikars now began to grow serious, when Hassan Aga stepped forward, spread open his skirt, looked around upon them, let the rubbish fall, and said, with the look and tone of a man that does not jest, "There,—that's the dirt that you have eaten! We have heard every syllable that you have uttered." The Palikars, to use the favourite metaphor of Clarissa Harlowe, were "struck all of a heap."

From Valtos to Furca, and from Furca to Calandria, is exactly the same distance as from Atheto to Valtos, that is, three miles and a quarter; and they lie in the same direction, so that these four villages run diagonically across the Peninsula, on a line extending ten miles. Close to the latter, on a headland, still termed Posidio, are the remains of an ancient city; which of course must be Posidium. Here I had heard of another subterranean passage; but not being again inclined to run the

risk of being buried before that operation had become necessary, I did not explore its hidden wonders.

After completing my researches in the Peninsula of Cassandra, I again returned to Atheto, to bid adieu to Captain Anastasi and the Primate; not forgetting Aglaë, who, in consequence of my quarrel with the Aga, looked upon me as her protector, and surprised me by running and seizing my hand to kiss it, which compliment the Turkish feelings, which were gradually growing over me, prevented me from returning, as it might be supposed, such a distinction, authorised or claimed.

Without asking the Aga's permission, I departed alone with Hadji, Captain Anastasi having sent before to request the Turkish Aga at Porta to give me as many guards as he judged advisable; for I had now determined on making the best of my way through the villages of Chalcidice, and then to Mount Athos; the country being considered more secure, both in consequence of the rumours spread of English vessels having been sent to pursue the pirates on the coast, and of the expedition of Captain Anastasi's father on the mainland.

We left Atheto at noon, and retraced our steps to Porta; and, just before reaching it, turned off to the right to visit a Metochi, or fortified farm of the monks of Athos. There I found masons at work; and in the courtyard stood a couple of one-pair wheeled carts, neatly and firmly put together, with a sleek, shining-skinned mule, harnessed to each. This was a novel and pleasing sight, and spoke

volumes for the worldly wisdom of the monastic fraternity whom I was on my way to visit. In this place, there were a good many columns split and broken by fire. The substantial table of the refectory, which probably once had been a hospitable board, still stands. It is formed of the granite lids of Sarcophagi, which, no doubt, had afforded grounds for many a convivial jest, as well as for the display of Hellenics.

The Isthmus is a low and narrow neck, about 1000 paces in width. It is fortified by a thick stone-and-lime wall, strengthened by square turrets, some of which have been converted into dwelling-houses. There is one larger than the rest, between a house and a bastion, looking upon the Gulf of Salonica. It is surrounded by a wall and ditch, and approached by a drawbridge; close to the gate is a dwarf ill-favoured fortress, with imitations of bastion, curtain, ditch, &c. Such are the remains of Potidæa, with a marsh marking the spot where its port has been.

From Porta it is little more than an hour north to Agia Mama. The village is hid among trees, but on a rising ground behind it appeared four white towers, connected by mud walls, formerly the farm-yard of Youssouf Pasha, now the residence of the Aga. To the right, along the shore of the Toronaïc Gulf, the land is low and flat, with a marshy smell. It is covered with an efflorescence of salt; but under Agia Mama, where the shore turns to the east, and the level ground is more extensive, it wears a green and smiling aspect, and a single magnificent ash towers in the centre, over the humbler mulberry,

olive, and fig trees—the only survivor of a goodly race that ten years ago embellished the prospect and overshadowed the plain.

I struck off from the road among some small hills, that lay on the left hand, to look for remnants of days of yore, and came upon the ruined tower of one of the Metochi, which are scattered over the whole country, and which attest the extended possessions of the monasteries of Athos, as also the industry of its monks. When I entered this ruin, resembling a bastion rather than a farm, myriads of ravens arose, like a black cloud, darkening the air, and deafening me with their croaking. The top of every wall, every ledge, and cornice in the building, was covered with their nests. The rustling of their wings was like the noise of a storm suddenly falling on the water. These towers are structures of thirty to forty feet square, by fifty or sixty, or even more, in height, generally without windows, but crenelated all round; they are arched within; and the platform on the summit is paved. On this stands a dwelling-house, generally of wood. There is a small door below, in one of the sides; and a staircase runs round within. A small watch-tower projects over the door, closed on all sides, but open below; so that from it the inmates may look, or fire down, on the door. Around, or at one side, there is a square of offices, with houses for the work-people, well and neatly built and arched. Precisely similar to these are the towers of the Dere Beys, on the north and east of Asiatic Turkey. Similar towers are also to be seen in Naxos, belonging to the old

Venetian families; but these are always entered by a drawbridge.

On arriving at Agia Mama, I visited all the wells where remnants of antiquity are generally to be found, and at each saw fragments of columns and of cornices. At one, four columns were laid across, and let in to each other like logs of wood: two ruined churches also exhibited numerous remnants of ancient temples; all which, especially those of granite, had been severely damaged by fire, and recorded in their splinters the "we will revolt" of Cassandra. These stones had a voice to relate their story; but how many human victims, not less innocent than these, have left no record behind of the reality of human sufferings, that sprang from causes which they could no more fathom or trace than they could the depths of the ocean, or the path of the hurricane! In traversing these regions, it is no uncommon thing to see sufferers from chronic complaints, chiefly women and girls, in the last stages of exhaustion, but not bedridden, wandering about like spectres. They generally attribute their malady to some sudden panic; and an inquiry into the state of a hectic emaciated girl, crouching by a stranger hearth, and receiving the bread of charity that in this land even indigence can bestow, is sure to lead to some event of the last ten years, and to date from the night when her father's house was burnt, when her brothers were killed, or when her lover fell a corpse at her feet!

The numerous remains at Agia Mama, together with its position, left no doubt as to its being the

ancient Olynthus. I saw some broken inscriptions on sepulchral stones; and, near the entrance of the village, an altar standing upright, though half buried. I procured from a cottage a pickaxe and a shovel, but could get no one to assist me in clearing away the soil. The reason of their backwardness was, that when the Turks entered the place after the insurrection, they set about oversetting this stone, when suddenly, the sky being perfectly clear, a gust of wind arose, so violent as to lift the tiles from the houses. The Turks, astonished, desisted, and instantly it fell calm again. On hearing this report, I seized the pickaxe; and no wind coming to the rescue of the rubbish, I was proceeding in my labour unassisted, in the middle of a numerous circle of spectators, when a priest stepped forward and begged to be permitted to share in the adventure; because, he said, he saw my star was bright. I replied, "Whoever *does*," if I may so Saxonise the Greek, ἐνεργει, "has a bright star," and offered him the shovel; upon which the whole population set to scraping the soil into their clothes, and carrying it away. The learned reader will not fail here to call to mind the Caliph Omar at Jerusalem. I must so far deviate from the rule I have been forced to lay down against antiquities of all kinds, as to record the inscription thus laid bare:

ΑΙΛΙΑΝΟΣΗΕΙΚΩΝ
ΟΑΡΚΙΣΥΝΑΓΙΩΓΟΣ
ΘΕΟΥΗΡΩΟΣΚΑΙΤΟ
ΚΟΑΛ ΟΝΒΑΙΒΙΩ
ΑΝΤΩΝΙΩΑΝΕΣΤΙΣΕΝ

ΤΟΝΒΩΜΟΝ
ΤΟΝΔΕ ΙΝΑΚΑΑΝΕ
ΣΤΙΣΕΤΑΜΒΡΟΣΑΤΤΟ
ΑΖΙΔΑΡΗΣ.

I went to the square enclosure, with the white towers before mentioned, and found the Aga was still in the fields. His Vekil was sitting at the gate. Knowing me to be a Frank, he scarcely condescended to notice me; and one or two civil speeches did not advance me anything. I had sat down on the bench beside him: my first thought was to get up, and ask hospitality at one of the cottages; my second was to demand, on the spot where I was, that hospitality as a right, which they seemed little inclined to grant me as a favour. I therefore ordered my servant to take my things to the Aga's own oda, or apartment, and began myself to move in the same direction. The Vekil was immediately brought to that most embarrassing diplomatic position of asking questions, and making protests: I merely signified to him that I was the Aga's Musafir. The instantaneous change in my position was exceedingly amusing, and I was enjoying all the delight which a man feels in making a discovery which is advantageous as well as interesting, when the Aga returned, welcomed me most kindly, and called for supper. My host, who had, at a former period, been governor of the mining district, gave me a great deal of valuable information respecting the statistics of this province, its former administration, &c. He made me take a list of the men in the different villages whom

I ought to see; pored with delight over my map, and traced out the track by which I should combine most convenience with most objects of interest; and sent for two Greeks from the village to accompany me, next morning, in my search after the ancient harbour of Olynthus, and the remains of Mecyberna, on the coast. The Vekil came to beg pardon for the reception he had given me, and excused himself by saying that he had taken me only for a Frank. When I assured him that I was *only* a Frank, a strife seemed excited between his credulity and his scepticism: he took his eyes from me, cast them on the floor, then on the walls, and looked very stupid.

Next morning, after an unavailing search for the ancient harbour of Olynthus, and the very satisfactory discovery of the ancient Mecyberna, at the distance of three miles from Agia Mama, in a heap of stones now called Molibo Pyrgo, I was led a wild-goose chase of several hours among the hills northward, in search of a ruin called Palaia Porta, which proved to be but a natural fissure in the rock; and towards evening reached the borough of Polygiro, situated amongst barren hills about ten miles north from the bottom of the Gulf, but overlooking a beautiful and broken glen, through which a mountain-brook pursues its noisy way, amid vineyards, poplars, mulberry, fig, and walnut trees. Polygiro being one of the chief of the association of villages which farmed the gold and silver mines of Chalcidice, I determined to remain here a couple of days, to make inquiries into the interesting circumstances

connected with this community. The Aga of Agia Mama had given me a letter to one of the Greek Primates, and warned me not to go near the Aga, whom he described as a wild beast of an Arnaout. My reception here was somewhat different from that at Ambelakia: I was met as if I had been one of the family returning from a long pilgrimage, and a large party had, in anticipation of my arrival, been assembled to supper. The loudest ejaculations of welcome proceeded from the lips of the great hunter of men himself—the father of Captain Anastasi.

During supper, the old Armatole related his various exploits since his departure from Atheto; but which I could not find to amount to more than five good suppers eaten at Polygiro, with as many dinners, minus one, which had been despatched by the way at Agia Mama: he, nevertheless, was constantly comparing himself either to Capodistrias or to Orpheus. My surprise was scarcely less great at the coupling of these two individuals in one yoke, than at the points of resemblance of each, or both, with Captain Anastasi senior. I was enlightened, however, in this respect, and found that the Armatole was the link between them; for he, like Orpheus, collected wild men together with a whistle; and, like Capodistrias, he reduced robbers to submission, because he was a greater rogue than any of them. The ingenuity and the frankness of this explanation produced thunders of applause and peals of laughter from all the guests. A very interesting subject of discussion was then brought on

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the tapis—the pillage and burning of the town, a few years before—in which drama the whole of the guests had figured, Palikars and townsfolks, though not on the same side. One of those present had formerly robbed the master of the house. They now sat down together, drank together, and passed their arms through each other as they held their cups to their mouths. They then lovingly embraced and called each other "cousin." In the midst of the conviviality a sudden alarm was given: the father of Captain Anastasi looked big and diplomatic—men came and whispered—men whispered and went away—the room and the house were soon filled with Pistols and with Bardolphs; their portly and convivial master at length condescended to inform me that it was all nothing; which opinion, indeed, I had not ceased to entertain from the time the whispering had commenced.

Next morning, being Sunday, I was up betimes to attend the matins, which commenced before daylight. I have found it a most advantageous practice to make the place of worship and the school-room the first objects of visit. This at once opens to the stranger the hearts of the strangers amongst whom he has fallen—associates him, in some degree, with the objects they revere; but in a much greater degree, as regards the school-room, with those things with which they desire to become acquainted; and this more especially as connected with the character of a European, from the disposition of all Eastern populations to look to the West for instruction. While the stranger thus at once

possesses himself of the readiest access to men's confidence, he finds himself at once placed in a position to influence them; and, while his first intercourse is established through the Priest, (the Imam,) the Schoolmaster, (the Hodga,) the circumstances of his visit are recorded by the schoolboys at each fireside of the hamlet. The church and the school-room are, moreover, the quickest means of coming in contact with the people—an object of no inconsiderable importance, as every traveller must know who has considered the people of a country as a *more* important object of inquiry than the stones which sheltered or defended the generations that existed there a couple of thousand years before. But these objects I had not in view in attending morning service in the church of Polygiro. If at that time I had had such views, my journal and my journey might have presented a different interest: I merely went to see the splendid dresses, for the manufacture and wearing of which this district is alike celebrated. I was, however, disappointed; but, on my return, the wife of my host redeemed the honour of the dyers, weavers, milliners, and embroiderers of Polygiro, by displaying to me a wardrobe, which exceeded my expectations. The stuff appeared to be cloth of silk—for the silk was untwisted, and thickly wove; it had thus the softness of wool, and the brilliancy of silk. The pliancy of the stuff made the folds fall as free and graceful as those of shawl, while the weight of the material gave them statuelike boldness and solidity. I could not help thinking our silk manufactures

were very backward. How much do they not lose by the twisting, or, to use the expressive sea-phrase, the hard laying of the silk thread? Cotton and other substances of short fibre acquire their sole strength by being twisted; but the silk comes from the worm, and afterwards from the reeling vat, in one continuous thread: by twisting, it does not gain strength, while it loses softness; and, if much twisted, from the unequal tension of the parts of the thread, it is not susceptible of being washed.

Now that I am on the subject, I may venture a remark with respect to the cotton manufacture. The machinery performing the different processes of spinning are, indeed, monuments of human ingenuity, and of the progress—I was almost going to say perfection—of mechanics. But what can be said of that barbarous savage thing, called the devil? Can no means be found for adjusting the fibre, save tearing asunder and destroying the staple? For a long time it has been supposed that the superior fineness of the thread of India, which our machinery could not rival, was owing to the saliva with which the hand-spinners moistened their fingers, or to some peculiar excellence in the cotton of Dacca. Its fineness is owing to the absence of machinery. There is no tormentor-devil, or carding-rollers; and the fibre is adjusted before spinning, without being torn asunder, by strong vibrations of catgut. This has been the common practice of all countries, until the application in England of mechanical powers to spinning. We have facilitated immensely the operation of twisting;

but as yet we have not overcome the difficulty of imitating the operation of *bowing;* and we have recourse to the expedient of tearing asunder the fibre, to make it more equable, which, consequently, requires that the thread should be hard laid to keep it together. It is this practice of twisting hard which, with other processes, has passed from the manufacture of cotton to that of silk; but with silk there is no necessity for twisting, and there is no advantage thence derivable as regards tension.

It may appear high treason to call the elementary portion of the manufacture, both of silk and cotton, as performed in England, barbarous. But let whoever denies the proposition open his eyes; let him compare the stuffs, the tints, the combinations of colours of the East and the West, and his wonder will be how the manufactures of England can compete with the productions of those countries, and how indeed England herself can be great amongst them by her manufacturing capacity. Of course the question lies in cheapness, not in quality; but does not this seem but meagre ground for such national pretensions? When one looks over a cabinet of the productions of China, knowing such to be the manufactures of one half of the population of the earth united under a single chief, and then when one hears that a small island in the northern sea, great only by its commerce and its manufactures, threatens and overawes this mighty empire with two or three frigates, must not the doubt come over any mind unbranded by doctrines, unharnessed to words, that the commerce of England

may have as much to do with our greatness, as the satins, porcelain, and japan of China with its weakness?

My hostess's select and gala wardrobe consisted of four dresses of this silk cloth, which, she said, answered for the four seasons of the year. The sleeves and the skirt were ornamented with a deep border of elaborate embroidery, generally in square figures, very complicated, and resembling the borders of Cashmere shawls; round the neck, and in front, were narrower stripes of the same. The embroidery is in silk thread; the colours are all fast, and most beautiful. These dresses wash without injury to form or colour, and last for generations. The four dresses in question were of the following colours,—umber brown, light blue, crimson, and yellow; the general tints of the borders varying to match. I need not add that the whole materials were of home produce, and the work domestic manufacture.*

I was this day present at an assembly held for the purpose of allotting the government tax upon silk by the Primates and the inhabitants, which was satisfactorily despatched in about a couple of hours. The produce amounted to between 6 and 7000 lbs. of silk. The rate of the tax was as follows:—a grower that produces sixteen okes, or less, pays at the rate of one in six; a proprietor of thirty okes or more, pays at the rate of one in three;

* In washing silk, and also shawls, they do not use soap, but a yellow crumbling root, which may be seen in the shops of almost every village.

between ten and thirty okes the rate is one in four and a half. There seemed not to be the remotest backwardness in stating the amount of produce; and as the adjustment appeared to me quite simple and easy, I do not feel called upon to account for its not being the reverse.

When I returned home, I found the father of Captain Anastasi, who told me he had come to consult me about his proceedings against the robbers. "I am very uncertain," he said, "as to my own situation. The Pasha promises me the captainship of the whole country if I can clear it of robbers; but, when I have taken them, will he not demand them from me? Now I can only clear the country by my 'Chatir.' Nothing is easier than to make the bands that now range the mountains as docile as the men you now see about me; but I can only do so by the faith I would have plighted, and they would have accepted. But if, when I get them into my power, the Pasha demands any of them, either I must fall out with the Pasha, or become an object of contempt to my own people; and I therefore cannot proceed against the robbers till the Pasha gives me his word that he will not require that any of them should be given up. This he will not listen to: and then he orders me to clear the country; and these fools of Primates, notwithstanding all their fine speeches, are just as bad as he is; I have therefore a great mind to turn Klepht myself. They now are going to send their contribution of silk to Salonica, which amounts in value to 20,000 piastres. They won't allow any of my men

to escort it; and they have collected eighty peasants, armed with muskets, no better than sheep. This is an affront; and my men are all mad at the insult that has been put upon them. The only thing that restrains me is the apprehension of what might be done to my son at Cassandra; and that is a point upon which I would be glad to have your advice." I was excessively gratified by this mark of confidence of the old Klepht, into whose mind the idea of the possibility of my betraying him never seemed to have entered. I therefore solemnly enjoined him to let the silk go unmolested, and he forthwith went to convey this counsel to his men. I did not fail to stipulate, that if ever he did turn Klepht, he should respect my pass.

# CHAPTER IX.

## MINING MUNICIPALITIES OF CHALCIDICE.*

CHALCIDICE, which, although not a portion of Greece Proper, played so important a part in her ancient history, and has left so many illustrations of the colonial policy, diplomacy, and foreign relations of Athens and Sparta, has, in later times, merited attention for administrative combinations of a most remarkable nature.

This district owed its emancipation, most probably, to the obligation imposed upon it, of working the mines which it contains, and remitting a stipulated portion to Constantinople. Belon, who visited it in 1568, and who has left us so minute a description of the manner of working the mines, and of its state at that period, makes no mention of such institutions as those which I observed there; but that I am not surprised at, as I had travelled

* See "Turkey and its Resources," chap. iv.

for years in the East before I suspected even the existence of any principle whatever in the administration of these countries. He gives us, however, a different distribution of the proceeds of the mines from that which existed at a subsequent period. When he visited them, private speculators extracted the ore, refined and coined the metal, and sent it in that state to Constantinople. The state received a third of the proceeds, which amounted to from eighteen to thirty thousand ducats monthly. The collection of this large revenue, from between five and six hundred furnaces scattered over the mountains, must have required a considerable number of agents, whose office presented great temptations and little control. By the relaxation of the energy of the Porte, this mode of collection must have become inefficient; and the Fisc, awakened by the sensible decrease of revenue, no doubt bethought itself of some expedient for correcting the abuse, and adopted that of compounding with the neighbouring villages to take and work the mines, on payment of a certain portion of the profits.

Such has been the progress of the legislation of the mines under the Roman Empire. First, the Government received a tax on the produce. As the severity of control became weaker, the treasury was more and more defrauded; it had then recourse to farming the mines; but as corruption increased, the next step, before their final abandonment, was the allotting of them to the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, which gave rise,

under the lower empire, to the class of peasants denominated "adscripti glebæ et metallis."*

It would be very interesting positively to ascertain the manner of the establishment of this little federation. Supposing it to have originated as I have just said, it proves the simplicity with which

* The condition of these people was not that of serfs, or slaves, but a certain portion of labour was compulsory. They did not work for individual masters who had rights over them, but they laboured under the direction of elective officers, to perform a given task for the benefit of the state. They were not fixed to the soil; but they could not quit, unless they could guarantee to the community their share of the common burdens. Their right of property in their lands was unquestioned, as the right to dispose of them, but on condition of their obligations being undertaken by the purchasers. They were allowed to regulate among themselves their time and services, to meet the additional burdens imposed on them in consequence of their possession of the mines. These conditions became intolerable when the fixed imposts were levied, without regard to the productiveness of the mines, or the decrease of the inhabitants. Similar to this is the actual state of the peasantry.

Subsequently to the insurrection, identical causes led, in one night, to the total dispersion of two villages. Under the empire, bodies of miners simultaneously abandoned their homes. Under Valens, the miners of Dacia, to the number, I believe, of 30,000, deserted to the Goths. (The Dacian mines have been discovered and opened by a gentleman who accompanied me in a subsequent tour, and exceed all known mines in the structure of adits and corridors.) Our jurisconsults, reasoning from analogies of the day, have, I conceive, mistaken the legal and social position of the "Adscripti glebæ."—The identity of their position, with that of the Raya of Turkey, will be perceived by consulting AMM. XXXI. l. 567. See, also, the CODEX THEODOSIANUS DE METALLIS, lib. vi. sect. ix. et lib. xv. *passim*.

administration can be carried on, when physical force cannot be employed to enforce and cover legislative errors, and when men apply the same common sense to government that they do to their private affairs. It is both curious and instructing to see the raya population of a Turkish province sitting down to discuss and to decide on what form of administration they should adopt. The constitution they formed would have done honour, not to the people, but to the learned of any country of Europe. A firman, for a stipulated sum, granted them immunity from all services, &c., defined the limits of their authority, and constituted them a corporate body. 550lbs. of silver was the tribute paid, just before the Greek revolution; the federation consisted of twelve burghs, and 360 subordinated villages. Such firmans, strange as it may appear, are perfectly in accordance with the principles of the Turkish government, which recognises in its agents no control over any man or body of men who are not criminal, and who have paid their local taxes; the criminal can only be legally punished by the decision of the Cadi, and not by the Pasha: for non-payment property is attachable, but neither person, nor lands, nor implements.

On accepting this charge, they naturally had to alter the system of working the mines, as the tribute to be paid to government was the ore extracted; so that the contribution of each individual became labour for the extracting of that ore. So under the Roman empire, on a similar change of the administration of the mines, *corvée*, on account of

the community, came to be substituted for hired labour, on account of capitalists, and for slave labour, on account of the state.

Their treaty with the Porte bound them to obedience to the Madem Emin, the only Turkish authority, and, indeed, the only Turk that could reside in their district, in matters of civil and correctional police; but stipulated entire emancipation from all interference with their internal administration. The payment of the stipulated quantity of metal discharged them from all other Government imposts, and from spahilic, (contribution to the militia cavalry;) and for their caratch, or poll-tax, the community compounded with the collector of the Pachalic; but the district and the Turkish Governor were rendered independent, both of the Pacha and the Mekkiameh (judicatory) of Salonique. As for their internal administration, that of each village was, of course, the municipal system prevailing throughout the country. The general representative system adopted in the mining districts, was perhaps an imitation of the monastic administration of Mount Athos. A central committee was formed of deputies from the twelve boroughs. Each subject of discussion was debated by the different municipalities separately. If the whole committee did not agree, the members returned again to the municipal bodies to re-argue the question, as it was necessary for them to be unanimous* upon every measure. To secure this

* It was curious to observe, at the election of members of the assembly of Argos, how deeply implanted in the minds of the

unanimity, no decision was considered valid without the seal of the committee; and that seal was formed of twelve copartments, one of which was entrusted to each borough; and all the portions had to be united before the seal could be used. What I have so often repeated respecting the effect of direct taxation, will sufficiently show that there was nothing unreasonable in the requiring perfect unani-

Greeks was the ancient principle of the members being mandatories of their constituents. The vote of the members was looked on as the vote of the district. It is true, Capodistrias sought to convert this feeling into a tool for party purposes; but it never originated in his suggestions. The fears of the people were aroused by the most insidious means; their virtues and their vices were alike worked on; they were led to suspect treachery from their members, and a coalition of the primates and capetani against the central government; so that they drew up, in some places, the conditions according to which they empowered the members to vote, and *declared they would ratify* no decision in opposition to these instructions. In some cases they even threatened to burn the houses of their deputies, and hang them themselves, if they betrayed their trust. Does not this forcibly recal the deputies carrying their instructions to the Amphictyonic assembly; making their report on their return; depositing copies of the acts; accounting for their votes; to make which valid, the ratification was necessary of the γερουσία and the ἐκκλησία of the constituent city?[1]

When Capodistrias' government had raised a loud and universal cry for the maintenance of the constitution, and afterwards for a national assembly, these words might be supposed mere Shibboleths of faction, or terms borrowed from Europe. Two answers were given to the president, which, even if invented, suffice to prove the intelligence of the people on these points. The president asked an illiterate Greek why he had

[1] See Eschines, *passim*.

mity in all their decisions, so long as the municipal officers were freely elected, and subject to public responsibility. The unanimity required in the decisions of the committee is conclusive as to the purity of election, without which such unanimity never could have existed, so as to have allowed the seal to be used at all.*

Each of the twelve boroughs had attached to it a certain number of villages, represented in the corporations on which they depended. But here, as elsewhere, the absence of all formality in the operation of the system; the absence of all familiarity with names and principles; the absence of all idea of rights and prerogatives in the people, render the inquiry difficult and obscure.

signed a petition for the maintenance of a constitution, and what he meant by the words. The peasant answered, with ready indignation, "We mean and invoke the covenant, which teaches us our duty to you; and you, your duty to us!" Not long before the termination of his unhappy career, he went into Maina, where disaffection was strongest. At a meeting with some of the chiefs, he protested that he was willing to adhere to the acts of the congress of Argos, but they persisted in demanding the convocation of a national congress. He petulantly asked, what use there could be for a national congress, if he adhered to the decrees of the last? one of them replied, "When Moses, having received the law from God, broke that law, he had to appear before God again, and to receive anew the laws he had broken. You, who are neither our conqueror nor our hereditary chief, possess your power by the constitution you received from the people: you have broken that constitution; you must come to the people to have it restored to you."

* Amongst the islands it was customary to have the common seal formed of as many copartments as there were burghs in the island.

But, whatever were the principles of its administration, this was essentially a mining joint-stock company, and might be supposed to be indebted for its prosperity solely to the success of the speculation, for which alone it was primarily established. It was bound in a heavy sum to the government, as rent for mines, which it was not likely could ever be worked with advantage, under the management of a committee of little farmers. The speculation naturally turned out a most unfortunate one; and, for several years previous to the Revolution, the mines had ceased to be worked at all; yet, so chary were they of the institutions granted on this condition, that no supplications were made to Constantinople to be relieved from its burdens, when they were attended with no profit; nay, Spanish dollars were yearly bought, and melted down, and sent to the mint, as if just extracted from the mines. They asked no exception on account of their poverty; claimed no remission on account of their exhaustion; but anxiously contributed the required amount, in the wonted form, to check all inquiry, and to take away all pretence for annulling a contract which, as a speculation, had been so unfortunate, but which had been so inestimable in granting them the free exercise of their own administrative intelligence, which gave them, in unshackled industry, and in the undisturbed possession of their exuberant soil, greater treasures than in its hidden veins.

## CHAPTER X.

DISCUSSION WITH A GOVERNOR—CRUISING BEES—RAVANIKIA —BIVOUAC — GOMATI — EUROPEAN MANNERS—SHRIVELLED PRIEST—SPLENDID PROSPECTS—TANACHUS.

Captain Anastasi, senior, and the Primates both coincided in dissuading me from continuing my rambles amongst the mountains northward; but imagined the country would be clear and free from danger after my visit to Mount Athos, if I went directly thither. The former refused to give me guards from his men, as that might rather endanger than protect me; but said that the Aga would give me, as the other Aga had done, a couple of armed peasants, who were the best protection, for two reasons—that the Klephts generally respected them; and that they were sure to give notice of any disaster by running away. This opinion I afterwards found to be correct.

The accounts I had heard of the Aga of Polygiro gave me little inclination to pay him a visit; and the picture that had been drawn of him at a distance, was more than confirmed by the reports on the spot. He seemed to be a specimen of all

that is bad, in the circumstances and the times; and, beyond this, was revengeful and cruel. The sober tranquillity of the every day's existence of an Eastern, the affection and respect so strongly characterising every household, give a patriarchal tone and simplicity to their minds, which may be ruffled and exhausted when driven by circumstances out of its natural tenour, which may give way to the cravings of the lust of power and of pelf, but which never settles down into cruelty. The Turk's crimes, when aroused, are those of the beast of prey, —violence, with an object. They are never those of the monkey or the inquisitor,—they never do damage for mischief's sake, or—on principle.

Having, therefore, sent my firman and bujourdi to the Aga, with a request for two armed peasants to accompany me to Ravanichia at dawn next morning, I received a very civil message in reply. The Aga welcomed me to Polygiro; and was surprised that I had not paid him a visit; and that the men should be waiting me, at dawn, at my Konak. Dawn broke, and the sun rose, but the guards appeared not; and, after waiting about four hours, ready to start; and, after two or three ineffectual messages, I determined at last to go to him myself. I found him seated on a bench, on the shaded side of his house, with a large troop of Albanians around him. He was a fat, coarse, and dirty-looking Albanian; I had made up my mind for a stormy interview, and commenced by saluting him with the greatest civility and meekness. He answered by an inarticulate noise; I stepped up to the bench,

and seated myself beside him. After a contemptuous survey, he averted his eyes, and resumed his conversation in Albanian; neither inquiring after my health, nor ordering pipes, or even coffee. When a sufficient time had elapsed, I addressed myself to him with extreme humility, to ascertain whether it was his pleasure that the guards should be furnished to me. "I should like to know," said he, turning round upon me with a look of irritation, and moving his chin as if it had been a pendulum, "what it is brings you wandering about our villages?" "Only," I answered, "to see how the Agas conduct themselves." The vibrations of his chin instantly stopped; and his broad countenance was turned from me to his grammaticos, or scribe, then at him, then at me again, and observed, "Oh, the Franks write journals,—that is what he means." "The Franks," I observed, "write also by the post to Salonica and Constantinople; and in both those places there are Osmanlis who might be amused with the question of the Aga of Polygiro." The Aga, affecting an air of indifference which showed how great a change these few words had effected in him, asked me, "What Agas I had hitherto found good, and what Agas I had found bad?" I said, "It was a hard thing to choose between them." "Are we then," he rejoined, "good people, or are we bad people?" "You are both good people, and you are bad people." How is that?" "You yourselves are of one opinion; the people you govern are of another." "But," said he, "you have travelled a great way to see us; surely you have some

notion of your own on the subject." "Then," I answered, "with these ruins around you, and with the men you have got caged in your cellars, you surely don't require a stranger from so great a distance to tell you what you are?" An indignant ejaculation burst from one of the Albanians, but it was instantly drowned by the others. "Let us hear him! let us hear him!" they exclaimed, "he knows all the worlds (ολλὰς τὰς δύνιας); and he knows us better than we do ourselves." "But," continued the Aga, "if this place is in ruins, it is their own doing; why did they revolt?" "You," I said, "are the masters; and if the subjects revolt, of course it is your fault. But, at all events, there is no one who talks now of revolt; and there is no excuse for violence or injustice." "Since you are so very compassionate for the Rayas, have you not got any money to distribute amongst them?" "That," I said, "would be to pay the retribution (blood-money) of your misdeeds." "If it is me you mean," exclaimed one of the bystanders, "I want nobody to answer for me; and to whoever demands my head there is my answer;" and thus saying, he pushed his middle finger into the muzzle of his pistol, and then drew it sharply out, so as to make it clack. "But," said the Aga, anxious to bring the conversation to a more amicable tone, without appearing to avoid the question, "have you no bad men in your country?" "Oh, a great many!" "What do you do with them, then?" "That is a point upon which I am looking for information. You have tried many expedients?" "Yes," he

said, with great simplicity, "I have tried everything with the dogs, but they only become worse and worse." "What?" I said, "your splendid prison without effect?" your falacca of no use? Will you take a piece of advice from me?" Having expressed his readiness to be guided by my counsel, I recommended that the inhabitants of his Konak, and of the prison below it, should change places. Some of the bystanders murmured; but some laughed outright. The Aga knit his brows, and held his tongue. The learned grammaticos came, however, to his relief, by relating the fable of the man, his son, and the ass, which proof of his learning and discrimination appeared highly satisfactory to the Aga and the majority of the bystanders. His triumph was, however, of short duration. I explained the fable, by pointing out that the drift of the grammaticos was this, that the Aga had tried all sorts of plans; and that he should now return to the original intention of nature, which was that the man should ride on the back of the ass; that is, that the Greeks in the Chapsi, or prison, should be translated to the Aga's Konak, and the Albanians of the Konak should be transferred to the Chapsi. Finding my interpretation succeed, I immediately proposed that the grammaticos should himself be imprisoned, as the most incorrigible vagabond in the village. A hearty assent was echoed to the assertion and the proposition; and those nearest him began to set themselves to work as if it had been seriously intended to commit the man of the pen. Good-will being now restored, the Aga asked me if I were

sent to travel about the country by the English government, to see how they could best take possession of it? I told him, "I did not think that England, if she wanted to take possession of the country, required to send travellers; for that, thanks to the Chapsi and the falacca, if she wanted to take possession of it, she had only to send a sergeant and ten men."

I have quoted this conversation partly as a curiosity in itself, but partly also to show the indirect mode by which business in the East is transacted. I went to the Aga, for the purpose of getting a couple of peasants to accompany me to the next village: the reader will observe that not a word had passed upon that subject, and yet I left the presence escorted by eight guards—half of them Turks!

Thus accompanied, I descended from Polygiro to the south; and, wandering about in search of ruins, was led amongst burnt shrubs, and over broken and difficult ground, to what must have been the enclosure of a city in the very lowest ages. I remarked here very rich iron ore. In three hours, I reached Roumelia, a small but very beautiful village, on the edge of a small and rich plain. Here we were to rest a few hours; and I wandered alone into the fields and gardens, and was charmed with the sight of a blue streamlet glittering among the trees. I was so audacious as to trespass upon a garden, by leaping over an enclosure, when I was accosted by two young men, the most magnificent looking youths I

ever set eyes upon. They were Greek peasants, their costume of snow-white cotton, embroidered on the borders, as was also the pendent extremity of the scarf they wore as a turban. Instead of an insolent or churlish rebuke, I was presented by them with a delicious water-melon. After some conversation, one of them went and brought me a sweet melon. They told me of a magnificent ruin, not above two miles off, and pointed out its situation, on a cone-like hill that rose on the other side of the plain; and volunteered their services to accompany me thither, and I fancied this might be Chalcis. After crossing the valley, we entered the bed of a mountain torrent; and, after passing through a narrow gorge and turning to the left, the cone, crowned by the ruins, stood before me, insulated from the surrounding hills by a symmetrical torrent on either side. We scrambled up through brushwood and wild olives; the walls were thick, and formed of unhewn stone; the gate by which we entered was in the Hellenic style, but the walls were merely flat fragments of schist, piled on each other; and what tended still further to destroy the illusion of their antiquity, was finding that they were in some places plastered with lime.

From Roumelia to Niket, a village situated at the north-east angle of the Toronaïc gulf, is three or four hours After following the vale already described nearly to the gulf, you cross the hill that bounds it, running north and south; and, in proceeding along the shore, you meet and cross fifteen

ridges, like waves, lower than the first, and running like it, north and south, from the mountains to the gulf, and forming along its shores a succession of cliffs and coves. At first they are barren, then covered with brushwood, then with small trees; which, in the vicinity of Niket, become forests of lofty fir. Fire has been set to them in all directions, but they have not proved very inflammable. In one place you may see the remnants of a clump of a dozen that have consumed each other; in another place a solitary black stump; here the trunk burnt, and the top green, there one half of a tree consumed, and the other smiling in verdure; and everywhere bright green mingled with yellow and brown, as if it had been a meeting of spring and autumn.

A general order had lately been issued to set fire to all the forests; a Turkish nostrum for the cure of robbers, of which the country people complain very much, as they make a great deal by their honey; and they prefer the chance of sharing a hive or two with the Klephts, to the certainty of being left without any. The bees of this part of the world have a fanciful taste; instead of culling its dulcet store from the calix of a bell heather, or the blossoms of wild thyme and marjorum, they content themselves with catching the excrement of a little insect, of the kermes kind, that feeds on the succulent sprouts of the fir. The hives are very numerous; they produce several swarms in a year, —I do not venture to say how many; and, as the inhuman practice of stifling these little creatures

has not been as yet introduced, by civilisation, into the East, the Malthusian principle is altogether neglected in their propagation. Pasturage for bees becomes thus as important an object as pasturage for any other domestic animals: but the limits by which such property is fixed being more easily transgressed, and the trespassers less easily pounded, the rights therein involved are open to much litigation; which, in the absence of lawyers, is not profitable to any one. Some of the bee-feeders have thence devised a very ingenious method, by which to extend the field of their industry, and the amount of their profits, by constructing little yachts, in which the swarms cruise about in the adjoining gulfs of classical renown—the Strymonic, Syngitic, Toronaïc, and Thermaïc; rifling the sweets of their respective coasts, and exhibiting that superiority over their continental neighbours which is always assumed by a maritime people.

The village of Niket is scattered over a chasm worked in a hill of sand, which rests against a rock of the most singular character and appearance: it is shining and sparkling schist, or slate, crumbling easily away, cut out into grotesque and extravagant forms; and is sometimes white, and sometimes light blue. The skirt of the wood comes over the edge of the hill behind; and a few trees stand upon flat spots, in the declivities to which they seem to have slipped down. The ruins, or the remains of 280 houses, are fancifully placed around on the steep sides, or on the terraces, or are con-

cealed by orchards in the bottom of the chasm. On the side of the hill, in a small enclosure which once surrounded the church, stand seven white marble columns, huddled together. The enclosure itself is nearly undermined, and below it a column hangs suspended across the road, having been caught and sustained by bushes on either side. No hewn stones or marbles smaller than the shafts of the columns were to be seen; these having been covered by the mouldering soil.

I sat down amid the columns to watch the magnified disc of the sun as it appeared behind the western horizon, and saw stretched out before me the singular country I had lately traversed. The light and shadows brought out the towers at Porta, and the white turrets of the Tchiftlik of Agia Mama. I tried to fancy that I looked upon the hostile battlements of Olynthus and Potidæa. The long dark peninsula of Pallene seemed suspended in air by a slender band; for the sea assumed the deep brown tints of the sky. Thick volumes of smoke rose from Potidæa; and, driven by a northerly breeze, hung like a dark pall over the Isthmus. Pelion, Ossa, and Olympus, were thrown forward, especially the last, like gigantic and moving shadows. From this point, and on such an evening, must the machinery of the battle of the gods have been conceived.

It was a short hour from Roumelia to Agia Nicola, a village on the neck of land which connects the promontory of Sithonia with the main: it is, therefore, in the centre of this cluster of pro-

montories and gulfs; and it looks down at once on the Toronaïc Gulf to the right, and on the Syngitic Gulf to the left. To the angle of this latter it is about a mile and a half; and, perceiving in the very bight a large rock covered with fortifications, and connected by a bridge or causeway with the main land, I went down to visit it, and found a tower and a fortress, of massive stone and mortar. Along the adjoining shore may be perceived, under water, a row of hewn stone, and the foundation of an ancient pier; and, consequently, this has been the site of an ancient city. I now turned northward; and, after five hours' march through a wild and beautiful country, where the pasturing deer stood and looked at us as we passed, we reached Ravanikia. Its little upland plain seems to have been a lake, so perfectly level is its surface, though the hills around are excessively broken and rugged. This plain is covered with all the trees that adorn the garden and orchard, the mountain and the forest. Here are mingled the almond and the oak, the olive and the fir; walnut, chestnut, fig, and cherry trees, flourish under the shade of the lordly platanus. Among these are scattered cultivated fields, and wild vines clustered among the branches. But fire had recently made tremendous havoc; and, more than once, the white ashes and smoking embers lay across the path.

Arriving early in the day at Ravanikia, I spent the afternoon very agreeably with the primates, who were occupied in settling their poll-tax. The twelve boroughs of the Mademo Choria had to

pay 40,000 piastres between them. This had to be divided by 1200, the number of khans* of which the district was composed; but, since the insurrection of Cassandra, they had not only to bear up against all the ills which had immediately followed that event, but against the long continuance of disorder which had resulted from the disturbance of their administrative relations. The district possessed 1200 khans, but there were now only 770 capable of paying taxes; and it was according to this double reduction that the sum of 40,000 piastres had to be apportioned. They first divided it by 1200, to obtain the general distribution amongst the villages; and made use of the scale of 770 in each village separately.

The next day was devoted to a triple search after ruins, geology, and the picturesque. It had been my intention to strike across to Stagyra, and then to return along the coast to the promontory of Mount Athos; but, after a whole day consumed

* This village formerly contained 200 families; it was reckoned at 120 khans, the khans alone being taxed. In other places a certain number of families, for instance, eight day-labourers' families, three tradesmen's families, or one primate's, are estimated as a khan, and taxed accordingly. This is altogether a local and municipal subdivision. Where the administration was entirely municipal, as in the Mademo Choria, instead of forming lots of families into khans, they contented themselves with excepting the poorer from taxation. Khan is the designation of a mansion of a more respectable order, and inhabited generally by more than one family. Domestic establishments throughout the East are proportionally much larger than ours.

in search of apertures of mines, and losing my way, notwithstanding the peasant guardians that accompanied me, we got sight, towards sunset, of the gulfs to the south, and found ourselves at no greater distance than seven or eight miles from Ravanikia. I therefore resolved on bivouacking; and a more enchanting spot, a more splendid prospect, a more heavenly sky, or a sunset of greater power and beauty, could not have been found, if the earth had been searched from east to west, and the loveliest hour from spring to autumn gathered from the year.

In a night's bivouac in the open air, one of the most interesting episodes is making the fire—not your fires made with a few logs of wood, but of whole trees. There was a fallen tree a little way off from the spot which we had selected, with which I should have been perfectly satisfied; but not so my companions; they turned their destructive eyes upon an enormous platanus, in the trunk of which (measuring seven yards round) a cavity presented a ready-made fireplace. They were soon dispersed collecting dry boughs, and building up a pyre around the devoted Chenar. The Esca, or Amadou, caught the spark from the flint and steel; it was then wrapped in the middle of a handful of dry grass, which, swung rapidly round by the extended arm, gave forth, first, wreaths of smoke, then a crackling flame; and in a few minutes the platanus was enveloped in smoke. We had proceeded thus far, when, perceiving some passengers on a path hard by, we sent to reconnoitre. It was

a monk returning from one of the Metochia, or farms of Agion Oros, with two or three mules, one of them laden with wine. He consented to stay and spend the night with us; and a most important addition he was to the company, contributing largely to our repast as well as merriment.

Our provisions were black bread in abundance, and a few eggs, which my servant had stowed with forethought and with care. The fire we had kindled soon became too hot for us; and we found a supplementary hearth necessary for roasting the eggs, an operation which a Palikar alone is capable of performing. The ashes are first raked, and their bed is made, but not too hot; they are covered, uncovered, turned, and repeatedly taken out to be whirled about like a teetotum; the increased facility of the revolutions indicating the increased consistency of the substance within. The monk's wine was more remarkable in abundance than in quality. The country around afforded abundance of mushrooms which we roasted, and snails which we scorched. Though it was fast-day, the Greeks satisfied their consciences, as regarded the snails, by affirming that they were animals without blood. As the night darkened, the burning tree became a very beautiful and exhilarating object; and when at length it fell with a crash, and rolled downwards for many yards, supporting itself on its reversed and flaming limbs, my guards leaped up in ecstasy, and discharged their muskets and their pistols, and called aloud for Romaika, which the sprightly monk did not disdain to lead. My Mexican hammock, which I always carried with

me, was at length hung between the branches of another platanus; and I looked down on the merry group till the last sank to sleep, wrapped in his capote, with his feet to the fire, and till the last flicker had fled from the smoking stump of the mountain patriarch, who had a few hours before exulted in the green leaves of a single spring, and the strength and dignity of a hundred winters.

It will be long ere that evening is effaced from my memory, or the beauty with which the next morning broke, or the splendour with which the sun arose—and what a theatre for light and darkness, shadow and colour, to display their powers! Where elsewhere on the surface of the earth can be found such variety condensed in so small a space, multiplying, magnifying, and changing all around, without vacancy and without superfluity? But these are not things susceptible of description; these are enjoyments which must not only be felt to be understood, but be laboured for, to be felt. What would be the repose of such a scene, without the fatigue of the road, or the softness of such a twilight, without the glare of the day?

Descending towards the shore, I reached Gomati at noon. Every spot seems more beautiful than the last; this place surpasses all that I have hitherto seen. The village is scattered among fruit trees and gardens, in the middle of a narrow and steep valley, with abrupt and wooded sides. This valley, as it descends to the south, spreads into a circular basin, hemmed in by low and rounded hills; beyond them, in the misty distance, spreads

the sea and rises the broken cone of Athos. In the centre of the village and of the valley there is a circular mound of earth, the summit encircled by a band of oaks; the trunks incline outwards from the steepness of the sides, and the branches hang like festoons around; in the centre of this coronet of verdure stands a cypress like a plume.

I went to breakfast with the Bouluk Bashi, the Albanian chief of a few irregular troops. He was shivering with a fit of the ague, but that did not discharge him from his hospitable duties. While I was with him, his brother, who was an officer in the regular troops, and whom he had not seen for years, arrived from Monastir. The Bouluk Bashi seemed very much moved on hearing of his brother's arrival. Everything here was in the extreme old style, and he himself was dressed in a splendid Albanian costume. The brother entered in a light blue surtout and trousers. The Bouluk Bashi attempted to throw himself into his brother's arms, but the new Nizzam motioned him back, and extended his hand to be kissed. The retainers of the Bouluk Bashi were each, in turn, in the same way repulsed, and had each to kiss the hand of this representative of European manners and civilisation. The gentleman in the blue frock and trousers no sooner understood that I was a European, than he came patronisingly to sit beside me, shook hands with me, (the last time I ever shook hands with an Eastern,) and began, in sundry ways, to exhibit his contempt for his brother, his costume, his ideas, and his feelings, in a manner

that most thoroughly disgusted me, and expelled, at once and for ever, all my previous notions about civilising the Turks.

When I returned to where my things had been deposited, I found the woman of the house in a great state of distraction about her husband, who, that morning, had been sent for by the Bouluk Bashi, and not having returned, she apprehended he had been put in prison. She sat crouching in a corner, and when I attempted to say something encouraging to her, she replied, "Go see the fine cow I am going to sell, to buy a handkerchief, that my husband and I may dance together!"*

Gomati formerly consisted of 230 houses; there are now but 130, of which, seventy are exempt from taxation. They have abundance of mulberry-trees, but from the destruction of the buildings, and the distracted state of the country ever since the insurrection, they have not yet sufficiently recovered to have the means of rearing silk-worms; this year, however, they have recommenced.

The exemption from taxation of the poorer families is not in consequence of legislative enactments; the village, being left to its own discretion as to the mode of taxation, does not make poor-laws out of philanthropy, but, from the most interested motives, adjusts taxation so as to prevent the existence of paupers; and the consequent tone and feeling of the place is such, that accidental destitution easily finds relief.

* In dancing, they hold the ends of a handkerchief; the sense implied, is destitution and wretchedness.

In passing through this village, I was struck with the sight of a stiff and shrivelled corpse, clothed and seated in a chair, laid slanting against a wall, so that the feet were in the air, and the head was bent down upon the breast. While I stood looking at it, I was startled by a jerking motion in the right arm, and then seeing two black and vivid eyes straining to catch my attention. This was a human and a living being, which had existed in this shrivelled and motionless state for twenty-eight years; flesh seemed to have disappeared from his bones; the skin had shrunk, and was almost black: I have seen mummies that appeared in a better state of preservation. The joints were all fixed, with the exception of the right shoulder and the jaws. This freedom of the shoulders amounts, however, only to three inches of a see-saw movement of the fore arm, and he keeps working it backwards and forwards, as he says, *for exercise;* his hands are closed; all his joints doubled up; the pelvis is as a pivot; and the only change of attitude is resting his back against the wall, or his feet on the floor; in bed, he lies upon one side only. He says, he first began to have his joints contracted twenty-eight years ago; he had successions of boils upon them, and one after the other they became immovable. During the last two or three years, he has experienced little change for the worse, and he hopes he will preserve what he calls the use of his right hand, to the grave. He is forty-five years old, and was a priest. When he saw me start, on perceiving the living eye in what I took to be a corpse, he laughed heartily; his tongue and teeth, he said,

were better than those of walking men; and his large clear eyes had a brilliancy not very common in health. I told him he might very soon make his fortune in London; he replied, he was very well pleased with his own village, and did not want to lose in travelling any of the time he had yet to live.

From Gomati, I descended through the valley into the basin below, which had once been entirely occupied with gardens, and the onions of which used to be transported in great quantities to the maritime islands. It is now a useless but a blooming and luxuriant waste. Two hours and a half brought us to a brow overlooking the Strymonic Gulf—the last of the succession of gulfs and promontories of this commingling of land and sea—where a new prospect opens at every step, composed of dark foregrounds, with light and airy distances; stupendous mountains, seen through softest glens; a country now a waste, now covered with forests; the land sometimes gray and yellow, sometimes dark green; the rocks, here dark brown, there of shining white. Here are thickly scattered records and ruins of all races and of all ages: here are recalled the heroic days of Man, the middle ages of Europe: here might be remembered, on the same fields, the glory of a Brasidas and of a Contarini, of a Dragut and a Doria, of a Robert and a Malimoud. Before me were the scenes of monastic penance and the trophies of imperial superstition; around me were traces, so mingled as scarcely to be distinguished, of peaceful industry, of

anarchy, of political wisdom, and of blood-stained oppression; while I exulted in the solitariness of my own reflections, and the consciousness that not a living soul, in the extensive regions exposed to my view, communed with the genius of the spot, or lived in the life of its recollections. At my feet lay the track of the canal through which the fleets of Xerxes had proudly steered; the mountains of Magnesia and Pieria still embellished the western distance; Pangeus, and the mountains of Macedonia and Thrace, spread to the north and east; the Toronaïc Gulf is concealed by the high land of Sithonia; the Thermaïc is visible; the Strymonic and Singitic are spread on either side of the isthmus below. On a rock, projecting into the Eastern Sea, stood Acanthus. Beyond the low and narrow neck, the promontory rises and swells into rugged and wooded hills, appearing over each other and forming a throne for the monarch of the spot, where he sits alone in sublime majesty, towering from the ocean to the heavens, and forming, with its Chersonese, but one insulated mass, traced against the water or the sky, and only touching the earth by the isthmus at my feet.

The country I have passed through is primitive, gneiss schist, mica schist; between St. Nicola and Ravanikia, schist, alternating between formations of marble and quartz rock—stratification very perpendicular, and inclining generally to the East. Looking down towards Acanthus, the hills seemed of sand; but they were of rounded and mouldering granite—the feldspath being decomposed where ex-

posed to the air. The structure of the rocks of the peninsula of Athos is the same; but it is a distinct group, totally separated from the rocks of the main land by the low and narrow isthmus. On its western shore they approach so close as just to leave the space that has been occupied by the canal.

At Acanthus (the name of the present village on its site is Ozeros) there are heaps of large hewn granite blocks; two churches—one of them ruined—are ornamented in a most singular manner with human bones and skulls, placed in small baskets, which are hung from the eaves and set up in every aperture. Towards the sea, at the eastern-most point below the castle wall, appears a portion of the ancient battlement, very broad, and not, as in general, filled in the centre with small stones, but through and through composed of large blocks. There are, all about the place, numbers of subterranean reservoirs for storing grain. A small hole, like the mouth of a well, faced with stones, opens into a round cavity, lined with clay* —this has probably been an ancient practice. In the centre of the isthmus, a low long ridge of friable limestone rises and runs towards the hills on the north. On the extremity of this ridge there are Hellenic ruins—probably of Sana. To the north of the canal, at a short distance from its western mouth, stands a ruined Metochi, chiefly built of hewn granite blocks; of course, the remnants of an ancient city. I had the satisfaction of clearly tracing the line of the canal from one gulf

* Such is, at present, the practice in the East Indies.

to the other; the isthmus was of a faded yellow colour, but a green streak marks the line of the canal as it approaches either extremity. On the western side, stagnant water and rushes stretch for several hundred paces. The isthmus does not appear above a hundred feet in height, and there is a continuous depression of from twenty to thirty feet in the line which the canal has followed.

I left Ozeros for the Holy Mountain, early in the morning, with an escort of four armed peasants. Great alarm prevailed in all directions respecting the robbers, but more especially at this point, where they had been guilty of frightful atrocities, and had, by attacking on several occasions the peasantry, aroused the feelings of the people against them. A superior officer had been here, a couple of days before, to inspect the district; and though accompanied by an escort of thirty men, he had not ventured to proceed by land. The Aga endeavoured to dissuade me from prosecuting my journey further, and, at all events, insisted on my going to Caries by boat. My object being to see the country, and, moreover, being by no means apprehensive of the bandits, and rather inclined to meet than to avoid them, I persisted in my intention, and started as already stated. This day, however, I was destined to share in an adventure, in no ordinary degree alarming; and now I cannot but congratulate myself on the decision which threw me into difficulties and danger, but which opened up to me most interesting trains of thought. As in Europe the manners of all countries are the same,

(when you look at them from the East, the trivial differences that do exist become scarcely worthy of observation,) it becomes impossible for us to estimate the value of custom and manner. I have found it, therefore, an exceedingly difficult task to render intelligible the character and importance of details connected with a subject which itself is unappreciated by my readers; but I had myself, at the period of which I am writing, the same difficulties to contend with in my own mind, in applying myself to the study of these details. The incident which occurred to me in the course of this day, and in which I owed my life to the little knowledge I had then acquired of Eastern manners, was a new era for me, and made me feel by what means the minds of those men with whom I had to deal could be led. These considerations have induced me to enter minutely into the circumstances connected with this event.

## CHAPTER XI.

### CAPTURE BY BANDITS.

We had not proceeded more than an hour, when we stopped to drink at a fountain, before engaging in the passes which are termed the Gates. Here the guards I had got at Ozeros left me, saying they had orders to turn back, as we were now almost in sight of the Koulia, a post that guards the entrance of the isthmus; and they had shown such symptoms of cowardice, that I was glad to be rid of them. As we sat on our horses drinking at the fountains, we laughed heartily at the haste of their retreat; my Greek servant Hadji, who wore my arms and looked more like a Cavash than a Rayah, pointed at them with disdain, and asked contemptuously if such men were worthy of liberty. Inspired by the words, he began to sing a Greek song, which arrested the triggers of levelled guns that marked and singled us out at the very moment, and we continued our journey without a suspicion of the fate we had so narrowly escaped. We had left the fountain about fifteen minutes, and I was fifty paces a-head, winding round the side of a steep

and wooded hill, in a narrow path, which jutted over a deep dell on the left, and had a bank and depending trees overhanging it on the right, when I was arrested by a loud shriek, followed by sounds that boded no good. I saw through the trees the crowding of men, white fustanells and arms! Whether or not escape was practicable, it did not enter into my mind to inquire; resistance was out of the question; but, in the confidence which extensive practice among these men had given me, I felt only incensed at the outrage, and reckoned on instant submission; I therefore turned and galloped towards them. I was certainly led into another train of reflection, when I saw a couple turn at me, holding their muskets levelled; I held up my hands, unarmed, (I was unarmed, except a pair of horse pistols in my holsters,) but they made a rush on both sides, vociferating imprecations, and distorting their faces into the most hideous and exasperating grimaces; at the moment I saw only two besides, so I thought resistance not impracticable; but the priming of the horse pistols was six months old; both successively missed fire, and I was struck senseless to the ground. The next thing I recollect was a blow on the back, as I was raised on my knees, which is generally preparatory to the act of decollation. How I escaped this, I had not sufficiently recovered my senses to know; but an object which may appear comparatively trifling aroused me; this was a ball of strong twine, which one of them was hastily measuring out. Recovering, at this sight, my senses and my limbs,

and finding myself loose, I leaped up, and stood prepared with a stout stick to do what might be practicable, to prevent myself from being bound. My companions in misfortune were on their knees, calling out "Amaun! Amaun!" and with streaming eyes held up their joined hands to be bound. The bandits had no wish to be pushed to extremities in the vicinity of the guard-house, and with the guards that had left me at no very great distance; so they listened to me, and left me alone. The others were quickly bound in silence; one of the party, the only very ferocious one of the set, turned to me with the cord; I offered him my breast to strike; his yatagan was in an instant bare; when a youth, of slender and even elegant air and appearance, and who had been looking at me, pushed him back. The others then approached, and told me to go quietly, and that I should not be bound. I told them (this seemed to me the only way to produce an effect) that I was perfectly resolved not to move a step, unless not only relieved from all insult, but treated with respect: "nor will I stir from this spot," I continued, "unless that man," (pointing to one who seemed the chief,) "whose countenance I will trust, gives me his word that the wretch who has insulted me shall not be allowed to approach me while I remain unarmed." Not only was the promise given, but my mule was brought to me; and I even insisted that my harmless pistols should be replaced in the holsters We now plunged into the depths of the wood; I had, therefore, immediately again to dismount; but the

point was gained, and, after about an hour's most fatiguing run, arrived at an elevated spot, whence we could command a view of the sea on either side, as well as of every access to the isthmus.

It was now most essential for me to improve rapidly the position I had established among them, and on my way I had anxiously considered how that was to be done. What I had more particularly to fear was, that having seized an Englishman, they would dread pursuit by the English cruisers that were in those seas, while the Turks would cut off their retreat by land; they might, therefore, seek to retard pursuit and prevent detection by despatching me there, and effacing every trace of the party. My plan, therefore, was first to conciliate their respect to myself; and, secondly, to convince them that I sympathised with them in their wrongs, and that Europeans were inclined to use their best endeavours to relieve them from oppression. But amongst them was that savage Albanian, who was evidently intent on my destruction, and who had twice so nearly effected it, and with whom these considerations would be of no avail. I therefore determined upon keeping no terms with him; which, indeed, offered me two advantages, that of keeping up the character I had assumed, and the chance of effecting a division amongst them. On arriving at the spot where we were to halt, I directed that my servant should be unbound, that he might unlade the baggage and spread my carpet. After a moment's hesitation, without any remark, this was done. I took the

opportunity of reproaching him for his dastardly conduct: I might, I said, have overlooked his not using his arms in my absence and against Greeks, but that his imploring for his life made him so despicable in my eyes, that from that hour I should consider him no longer my servant. He was, at the moment, filling my pipe; I snatched it from him, and turning to the young man who had before saved me, I told him that he should fill it, for I was sure he never would disgrace the arms he wore, or the master he served. It was caught with alacrity, and more than one jackomaki (flint and steel) was pulled out to strike a light. Emboldened by this first success, which was most critical, I found immediately a number of little wants, which, one after another, employed them all in serving me; while poor Hadji, who in his terror, first for the Klephti, and next in his amazement at me, had stood rooted to the spot where I took the pipe from him, kept whispering instructions and directions to the Palikars, as to how I ought to be served; so that had he been up to his part, he could not have played it more dexterously.

The Klephts were only six; they had been ten at the fountain, where they first intended attacking us, upon seeing us part company from the four guards. The captain and three men had followed these, to despatch them, if their companions, within their hearing, had to make use of their fire-arms. We were four—a guide, a muleteer, (both unarmed,) my servant, and I.

When I was comfortably arranged on my carpet,

with coffee and pipe, I seized the moment, before the Palikars sat down, to tell them to be seated. The Albanian, all this time looking on with no less surprise than dissatisfaction, at length came forward and said, "This is all nonsense, we *are* robbers, and you are our prey; your coffee is ours, your money is ours, and your blood is ours; τοὺ κλέφτι καθένα τοὺ χρεωσὰ (every one is in debt to the robber.) I am sultan here; I am king of England here; and you pretend to treat us as if you were a Pasha!" I vouchsafed him neither regard nor answer; but, turning to the Greeks, I exclaimed with great warmth, for I am sure I felt it, "What is there in that Hellenic blood, that so distinguishes its race from the barbarians that defile its soil?" A movement was made, to repress the violence of the Skipetar. He called them fools, and was called in return a brute by my young friend; a schism *was* established. The only one I could, however, yet reckon on my side, was the youngest and least influential; but even this was an acquisition in such circumstances. The others were inclined, I thought, in my favour; but the Albanian kept constantly handling his weapons, and looking at me, as if he wanted neither the consent nor the assistance of his comrades. The absent party, and the captain, if I could hold out till their return, would of course turn the scale. They now left me with two, while the others went to consult; and these two were again relieved by others. Hadji was called and re-called, and examined and cross-examined. The point they seemed most anxious to

ascertain was my being an Englishman; had I turned out a German, a Frenchman, or a Russian, my fate would have been instantly sealed. The baggage was visited, all the better parts of the habiliments of my attendants were gradually abstracted; and I was requested, but respectfully, to deliver up what I had in my pockets, excusing themselves by saying nothing less would satisfy the Albanian. During this time I was not unemployed finding out the history of each, and the cause of his being driven to the woods; and I found each most anxious by himself to impress upon me the belief that wrong had reduced them to so wretched an alternative; and that now, but for the others, he would be glad to see me released. This gave me an opportunity of sympathising with each. I took an opportunity, during these hours of mortal suspense, to interrogate the lad who had proved my friend. He was a native, he said, of free Greece, and had come to Atheto because betrothed there to a maid, who had attracted the eye of the Aga of Cassandra. He had related to me the persecution that had driven him to the woods, when I supplied the name of his Aglaë. I had now my story to tell him, and in five minutes we were sworn brothers. Vasili now set about the work of my liberation in earnest, and declared that he was ready to risk his life, if necessary, to save mine.

He soon returned from the party which was seated in consultation at a little distance, to tell me that the prevailing opinion was, that I should be released, on paying 50,000 piastres. "But where,

Vasili," said I, "am I to find 50,000 piastres?" "Oh!" he replied, "they well know a paper with your seal is as good as gold." "And will they release me on giving them such a paper?" "That will depend on the captain."

The subject was then discussed in my presence; and it was settled, under the condition of the captain's approval, that I should send Hadji for 10,000 piastres to Salonica, and should remain with them until his return with the money; and that my head should answer for his discretion.

At length the captain was descried, and Vasili ran to meet and if possible to gain him. His reception was now my grand stroke; and I whispered to Hadji, instructing him as to minute details. What I had heard of their chief led me to admit favourable expectations; and I prepared myself for my fresh task with the utmost solicitude. As the new comers broke through the thick boughs into the opened space we occupied, they were evidently struck with our relative positions; for by this time none of them ventured to sit down. As the captain approached, I rose not, stirred not, looked not even towards him; till, having come close up, he saluted me by making the temenaz, which I returned with a slight motion, and then indicated the corner of my carpet; he seated himself exactly on the designated spot. In a couple of seconds I turned my eyes gravely upon him, and, to remind him fully of the yoke to which he had been broken, repeated in Turkish the ordinary salutation, which he returned in the humblest man-

ner. Coffee had been prepared; I now called for it, and Hadji took care that a proper interval should intervene between the presenting of my cup and his. The few minutes that thus elapsed appeared most irksome to the captain, who looked like a sober and homely farmer; the new comers spoke not, but turned wondering eyes on me, and inquiring looks at the others, who seemed rather ashamed of themselves; while to me these moments were of more intense anxiety than any former period. I now held so many strings in my hands, that it was no longer a matter of impulse, but of calculation, and that too of the minutest points; while the slightest indication of plan or design would have destroyed all. My heart throbbed, so that it shook me. When the coffee-cups were taken away, (and in Turkey, coffee is always despatched before business is commenced,) and after two or three long and deep whiffs—changing my manner entirely, I turned abruptly round, and, with warmth, addressed him to this effect:

"I have long known the Greeks—I have long admired their character, and pitied their misfortunes; I have wandered over every mountain, from Makronows to Trickeri—from Zitza now to Agion Oros; I have eaten Calamboki* with the black Rayah, Mgithra† with the Vlach, and roasted kids with the Klepht; I have been ever received as a friend, and parted with as a brother. I would, but

* Indian corn flower made into a dish resembling the polenta of the Italians.

† Curds made from heated sheep's milk.

for this day, have carried these impressions with me to Europe; but you have taught me to do the Turks justice! I have gone to seek out and visit the Armatoles of Olympus, and the Klephts of Thessaly, thinking that amongst these men I should see the true descendants of the Hellenes. Had I feared you, I could now have been accompanied by guards that would have set you at defiance; but, on the contrary, had I known where you were, I should have come to visit you alone; expecting more hospitality at your hands than I do from these monasteries. But it seems you make war, not on your oppressors and the Turks, but upon mankind and Christians. And how are you so mad as to lay your hands on me, the well-wisher of your race—an Englishman; for whom vengeance will be sought, both by his countrymen and the Turks; and one who has shared the hospitality of all the Capitani around you? However," I added, "I can in part excuse your men; they knew me not,—my capture originated in a mistake, which I see you both regret and are ashamed of; and I must say, the subsequent conduct of most of them has gone far to efface the impressions of their first violence."

The captain's reply fully justified this appeal to their nationality; for he commenced by attempting a justification.

"The boys (τα παιδια) will tell you, that though I am not a young man, I am no old robber. Not very long ago I had houses, lands, and children. Why should I have been a robber? For what I

am now, those who drove me to it must bear the blame; and if these allow me some authority over them, it is not for my Tufenk's* sake, but by memory of some kindness I once showed to this band. Look at those men, some of them barefoot, with clothes of strings rather than cloth, with empty tobacco-bags, and empty stomachs; what makes them lead such a life, and what restraint can you place on men who live so? What care they for life; and why should they? Does the injury they do to others bring any good to them? And what serves the feasting of a night, and the plunder of a day, when they can carry nothing with them against a week's cold, rain, or hunger? Speak not, then, to such men of your English ships, nor of Turkish gibbets; but tell them that one is come from Europe, who will tell again how their name is disgraced; how they are driven like oxen in the fields, or hunted like bears in the mountain. Speak to them but words of consolation and kindness, and they will lay their heads on the ground, and put your foot on them. But you know what we are. We have injured you; we know what injury you may do us. We are not all of one mind; we are as many captains as men, and fewer men than opinions. I held the plough with these hands: it was the Turks put this musket in its place; this now must find me food."

The discourse which followed it would be too long to relate. They afterward retired a little way back into the wood, to consult, not even leaving a guard over me. I felt relieved, until the

* Gun.

length and loudness of the discussion again awakened my apprehensions. However, they were of short duration; for presently Vasili came running, and kissed my hand, telling me that all was arranged; he was followed by the rest, who clamorously surrounded me, telling me they had determined on making me their captain. I, without the slightest indication of satisfaction or surprise,—without a betraying word of thanks,—asked whether they allowed me a voice in the matter, and whether they thought the picture they had drawn of their life was so very attractive? This was quite an unexpected difficulty to come from one whose life was in their hands; but as in their new frame of mind they had lost sight of the connexion, I took care to lead them as far away from it as possible. They now set about persuading me that the whole country was distracted by the Turks and by the robbers; that the present oppression was like the knife reaching the joint; that the Turks had no strength, and the whole country would turn Klephti if they could be respectable; and that the Klephti would unite among themselves, and protect the people if they had a chief; that during the last insurrection, if they had had a chief on whom they could have depended, and to whom they could have looked, the Turks would have as easily conquered the moon as reconquered their country; that now, if it was known that an English Bey Zadeh was their leader, they could collect 500 men in three days, carry some fort, which would be the signal for the rising of the whole country. "Where,"

said they, "is there a man to oppose us? The Grand Vizir cannot garrison even Monastir: 25,000 armed Greeks occupy the mountains round Thessaly, from Volo to Tempe, and to Mezzovo. The Tagmatas of the free Greeks stretch from Thermopylæ to Dgumerca. The Albanians are up; the Bosnians are up; Scodra has 30,000 Ghegues in arms; the Servians are our brothers. The Turks will not fight for the Nizzam;* and here, from Salonica to Cavalla, in three days a Turk would not be left. The harvests are got in: we could lay our hands at once on immense stores of grain and provisions; and the vintage is just commencing. Never was such a moment, and no point is so favourable, to take the Grand Vizir in the rear; to encourage the Greeks and Albanians to the west, and unite them at length; and then *we* shall have the cutting off of the hasné, (treasure,) now on its way from Constantinople to the army."

Dread, doubt, and confusion, at that time, throughout the Ottoman empire, pervaded men's minds and opinions. This incident served but to confirm the conclusions at which I had already arrived. I felt that a soldier of daring, and a man of energy, might have changed the face of the East, if philosopher enough to ascend to the sources of the distinct currents of opinion from the East and the West, then meeting and struggling on this arena. I was convinced, also, that the name of Englishman alone might instantaneously have given importance to such a gathering, and led to rally round it

* Meaning the new system.

sections, interests, and races, which scarcely any other watchword could call together. These views I frankly entered into with these men. I pointed out to them what qualities and qualifications were requisite in the chief of so desperate an undertaking: where there was no middle position between destruction and success; where success would almost be miraculous. That if such a man could be found to lead such a movement, it might perhaps succeed; that such men were found only once in ten centuries; but that, whether it succeeded or failed, there would be a curse on the projectors. They gradually became thoughtful, mournful, and subdued: and thus this strange vision flitted by.

The Albanian was my warmest partisan; we talked over "Alvanitia," Veli Bey, and Arslan Bey, with whom I found he had been at Milies; and we thus were old friends. He now had a great deal to tell his companions about me, and summed all up by saying that I ought to have been an Albanian.

After the Grand Divan was over, they proposed sending to a flock of the monks to fetch a sheep; but though it was near sunset, I preferred making for the nearest monastery, seven or eight miles off. Our "plunder" (plachika) was brought out: whatever was mine was punctually restored; and amongst these were silver and gold articles. I made them a present, after finding that nothing was missing, of my money and a telescope: my baggage-horse was laden, my mule brought to me—one held the bridle, another the stirrup; and

they accompanied me down to the road. They then pressed round me to shake hands; and, as this was an exceptional case, I did shake hands with them. The captain said, "We trust implicitly in you: we have exacted no promise from you, that you would not cause search to be made for us. When you speak of us, we know it will be to plead our cause; when you think of us, it will not be with anger." I assured them of the gratification I should feel, not only in preventing search being made for them, but in contributing to their pardon and restoration to their homes. Our parting was more like the severing of affectionate friends than of robbers from their prey; and I had left them some fifty paces, when the Albanian shouted after me, "If you have any friends coming this way, just give them a buyourdi, (note,) and we will take care that no one hurts them."

When we found ourselves again alone, our very mules seemed to step out, to put as much space as possible between us and the Klephts. Our first impression was that of wonder at the reality of our escape; the next was the recollection of the wanton cruelties, from which even the monks were not exempt; one poor wretch had at this place, a few days before, been ransomed by the monastery, and was sent back—without nose, lips, or ears!

We hurried on, without exchanging a word, until we were long out of both ear and musket-shot. At length we made a halt, when Hadji dismounted; and, running up to me, showed me,

with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy, a small black thing, exclaiming, "This has saved us, and I have saved it!" A bit of holy wood, (wood of the cross,) within an envelope of wax-cloth, to save it from the wet, was the object thus displayed. Hadji told me that, from the moment of his capture, all his fears had not been in the least about himself, but about the holy wood: before he was stripped, he had confided it privately to Vasili; and nothing now could exceed his joy at its being restored to him, which restoration had been our deliverance. Here he devoutly kissed it. I entreated to be allowed to look at it, to which he at length consented. I unfolded the wax-cloth,—three several coverings of paper and silk; I then got to some cotton in the middle: "There it is," said he, "in the cotton; but it is not a very large bit." "No, Hadji," I said, "it cannot be very large; for I can neither feel nor see it." The holy wood had vanished!

Being better mounted, I hurried on, thinking the monastery could not be distant, nor doubting that I could mistake the way. It soon became pitch dark, and amidst the impenetrable gloom of the woods, my animal picked its way. I heard the waves surging on my left,—sometimes close to me, sometimes far below; and their sheets of phosphoric light showed afar the line of the breaker-marked coast. I had now got a considerable way before the rest, and was doubtful whether I should still go on, when a dog rushed at me, and set up a fearful yelling. Presently I was hailed by several

voices: I answered not. At last the singing of a Turkish ball* rang in my ear, and several shots followed. I started a-head; and, after spurring on about a mile, finding I was not pursued, and fearing I had lost my way, I halted, dismounted, and drove my mule into a thicket, a little off the path. I had not been long thus secured, when I heard shouting in the distance, and soon recognised Hadji's voice. I therefore emerged from my place of retreat, related with exultation my escape from this second band, and inquired how they had avoided them. I was answered by a most "un-Oriental roar of laughter." The men who had so bravely discharged their muskets were not Klephts, but guards. I had passed before they had heard me; and not answering or stopping when challenged, they were about to pursue, when Hadji came up and told them who I was. I thought it, nevertheless, a hard case to be seized by the thieves for an honest man, and shot at by the honest men for a thief.

* The lead tail is not cut from the ball: to this the cartridge is tied, so that the ball sings through the air.

## CHAPTER XII.

### MOUNT ATHOS.

We toiled on a little further, but still no signs of the monastery could we perceive; it seemed to fly before our weary steps. At length we came to a metochi, or one of those tower-farms which I have described. Alas! we found it was untenanted, all save a barn, where there were some cattle, and the still warm place where a man had been lying, who had been frightened away at our approach. Hunger was clamorous for proceeding, but Fatigue insisted on remaining, and gained his point; so I laid me down to rest for a few hours on the straw of the vanished shepherd, in a sarcophagus, that served as the basin to a dry fountain.

We approached the monastery of Chelendari as the sun rose. It was a grand and imposing building, the first of the kind I had seen, and struck me exceedingly. A road led to it, terraced and sweeping, supported by parapets; gardens, rows of trees, and cypresses, were spread around, with many other interesting objects, for which at the moment I had very little attention to spare. On arriving, I

was ushered into the dormitory of the temporary Abbot, who was just awakening from his morning nap. After salutations, and ordering coffee and sweetmeats, (for it is against the rules of Eastern hospitality to inquire who the stranger is, or whence he comes, till he has been refreshed,) I startled his ideas of decorum, by telling him that the coffee and sweetmeats would come better after something more substantial; and the sooner that came, the more acceptable it would be. As I perceived the Goumenos was astonished, not less at my morning appetite than at my hardihood, I explained to him briefly that I was a traveller, who for the last six-and-thirty hours had had hard work, and nothing to eat.

My breakfast was a frugal one, but it was Friday, which, with its meagre companion Wednesday, are not the show-days of a Greek refectory. During this time, the noise of the robbery had spread through the convent; Hadji had the fathers and servants collected round him, while he enacted the scene of the day before. He had no sooner concluded, than they came trooping up to the Abbot's chamber, to inspect the hero of the eventful tale. The Abbot seemed at first offended, thinking it was a hoax; and when at length assured that it was really fact, he crossed himself over and over again, opened a pair of large eyes upon me, and said, "Have you been half an hour with me, and not told me of this?" He then muttered to himself, "Well, this does account for such an early appetite!" Hadji was called up to repeat his story, which

went swimmingly on till he came to the wonderful effects of his holy wood from Jerusalem. He had evidently, in his first version, attributed the honour and glory of our preservation to the relic, and not to me; and now, before me, all his ingenuity could not reconcile the previous hypothesis with the simple facts of the case. He would fain have passed this over in silence, but there was no escape for him; the monks all cried out, "The holy wood! the holy wood! Tell the Abbot about the holy wood!" Generously I stepped to his rescue, and related how he had assured me that at the moment the packet, intended to contain the holy wood, had been restored to him, an instantaneous change had been effected on the Klephts,—all thoughts of blood vanished,—every idea of ransom even was set aside; and then it was that the marvellous thought struck them of making me their captain. Hadji's countenance was now white again, and looked upon me a world of thanks.

This convent is Sclavonic; most of the monks are Bulgarians; the Abbot was actually on a tour in Russia, and the monk who filled his place had just returned from Moscow.

After a few hours' rest, I left Chelendari, and shortly afterwards, I suppose from a change of wind, we were nearly suffocated by a forest-belt that was in flames; it was with difficulty we extricated ourselves, for we knew not which way to turn; the conflagration was parallel to the road, which a slight ridge had hidden from us while we were to windward of it; the wind changing blew the smoke and

flame over us. We could not get off the road, from the dense thorns and thickets that covered the country, and rapidly spread the flames, which now crackled furiously, and seemed to envelope us on all sides. By pushing on, we escaped, however, with the fright, a little roasting, and a complete blackening, and repaired to the convent of Simeon, which soon received us—wondering at the fertility in adventure of the Holy Mountain.

Simeon is a cenobite monastery; that is, where all things are in common. I was very much interested by the Abbot, and regretted that my arrangements did not allow me at least a day to spend with him. The simplicity and elegance of this man's manner and address, his attractive and instructive conversation, prepossessed me strongly in his favour. I subsequently learnt, in helplessness and in suffering, to appreciate his truly charitable and christian spirit.

In the evening I arrived at Vathopedi, situated on a little bay on the east of the Peninsula, encircled by walls and turrets so disproportioned to its extent, that it looked like Cybele's crown. As I crossed the gateway, the toll of the large bell for vespers shook the building, and startled me by a long unaccustomed sound. From the impression then made on myself, I can imagine that the bells of Athos alone would be enough to consecrate the spot to the sound-loving Greeks, whose rights are elsewhere shorn of this loved distinction; * thence have the monks of

* Mahomet the Second prohibited the use of bells at Constantinople, because they were annoying to the other populations.

Athos been designated the "Lords of the Bell." This is the largest and most interesting of the monasteries; and as I was at present pushing on to ascend the Mountain, I determined on staying here two days on my return, to examine the library and a manuscript history of the mountain that was shown to me. The church is internally a light, airy, and lofty building, composed of two oval halls, opening into each other, adorned with enormous pillars of porphyry, with pavements, columns, and ornaments of jasper, verd-antique, and variegated marbles.

Here I found a Turkish Binbashi, whom I had formerly known, and who was making a *tournée, by boat,* to report on the state of the roads. He was a large coarse man, with a face at all times nearly as red as his fez; but when he heard of my mishap, which he seemed to consider no less as a personal insult than as a disgrace to his administration, that face grew redder still; he stormed and raged, abused all the female relations of the Klephts, threatened hanging and impaling, and was only soothed by the thoughts of a heavy fine on the monasteries. Hadji was again called upon for his story, with which he entertained us while we supped. But this time the poor holy wood was entirely forgotten; so I reminded him several times of the facts which I had admitted and related on his testimony. I observed that the Binbashi, not knowing the power of holy wood, might be much edified by the relation. Hadji could not understand at all what I meant, so

He suffered the bells to remain at the Princes' Islands, because exclusively inhabited by Greeks.

I was constrained, as at the convent, to relate how the restoration of the holy wood had helped us in our hour of need. The Abbot, who was supping with us, nodded his head as I went on, and considered it perfectly a common occurrence. "But," said the Binbashi, "it would have been better for the holy wood to have saved you from getting into danger at all." "But," I continued, "the holy wood was never returned at all." "What!" vociferated the Goumenos to Hadji. Hadji's eyes dropped on the ground; his face was black, the Abbot's yellow; the Binbashi's sides were long, and fearfully shaken.

It may appear surprising that my servant, a Christian, should be designated by the Turkish religious title of Hadji—a pilgrim; a title, too, so much prized, and often so dearly earned. But what is more surprising is, that Christians and Mussulmans may earn that title together, performing the same ceremonies in the same places, and these places sanctified by the recollections of Christ and the traditions of the Gospel. The great Hadjilik, or Mecca, is forbidden to all but Mussulmans; but to those who are debarred from the performance of this ceremony, enjoined on all the disciples of Mahomet, the minor Hadjilik of Jerusalem is open. It is not, however, a mere visit to Jerusalem or Mecca which gives the title of Hadji; it is the participation in certain ceremonies that are performed at either place once a year. At Jerusalem, this ceremony is performed by Mussulmans and Christians in common. After various prefatory obser-

vances in the respective places of worship of the different sects within the walls of Jerusalem, those who aspire to the honour of the Hadj assemble in the afternoon of the day before Easter, at a place of common rendezvous, three miles from Jerusalem; thence the caravan, composed of Turks, Arabs, Courds, Bedouins, Greeks, Armenians, &c., proceeds to Jericho; thence it again departs with great pomp, and attended by a numerous escort, three hours after sunset, so as to arrive at the banks of the Jordan by break of day, and to plunge in the waters of purification at the earliest dawn of Easter. The tract of country between Jericho and the Jordan is covered with a grass not above six or eight inches in height, but exceedingly inflammable, giving a bright light; it is always dry and like tinder at this season of the year; the caravan is preceded and followed by men with torches, who set this grass on fire; it then burns on both sides along their path, producing the most singular and splendid effect. Strange stories are told of the saints, who have furnished this district with a plant so admirably adapted to give splendour to this nightly travel of devotion. Strange stories are also told of the furious storms that impious Giouls have aroused in the welkin to quench the flame that guided the pilgrim on his pious way. Such a storm overtook the caravan with which my faithful Hadji went a sinner, and returned a saint. The burning grass was at one moment almost extinguished before the anxious eyes of the benighted crowd, when Hadji fortunately bethought himself—of the very

bit of sacred wood that had rendered us so lately such an important service.

Next morning we went on to the village of Caries. Here sits the governing committee of the Monasteries; here the fair is held, and the Aga Bostandji, from Constantinople, resides. It is a strange place—there is a Tcharshi of shops, houses, and gardens, without a woman, a child, a hen, or a pig; and, besides the moustachioed monks, no other character to be seen than huge tom-cats, seated cross-legged at every door. The approach to it is by a most delightful path, with hedges, and stiles, and gates. It is seated inland, but looks over the sea, and the pretty little bay of the Convent of Iviro to the East. All around, the ground is broken into singular and beautiful confusion, as it descends to the shore, or rises to the hills; completely covered with orchards of fruit-trees and hazel, and the loftier parts with forests of walnuts and chesnuts, sometimes planted in rows. Some small monasteries are scattered around; and peeping through the forests, or perched on the rocks, are hundreds of chapels, habitations of single monks, and cells of the Solitaries. To the south, in the clear sky, sits on its throne of rocks the Holy Mountain. But who could describe the effects of light mist and clouds, as they mingled on that majestic summit? Gauzy vapours, now hanging in mid air, stretched in parallel lines, at morning dawn, in perfect stillness; sometimes it stood like a column, supporting a roof of clouds, and sometimes, like new mountains, they were heaped upon it;

sometimes I have seen a single mass of cloud lingering on its gray peak, sheltering itself to leeward from the sea-breeze, like the "meteor-standard" of an Eastern Andes, waving o'er the clime of the sun and the realm of the muse.

Shortly after my arrival, the whole place was filled with dismay and alarm; the tocsin was sounding, and the population thronging the streets with axes and other implements. There was fire in the vicinity and to windward: without my late experience, I should have found it difficult to understand the alarm and activity so suddenly called forth. The fire, by prompt measures, was soon got under. I paid a couple of visits to the convent of Iviro, which is entitled from the Turkish name of Georgia, where it has a Metochi and dependencies. It preserves many traditions and portraits of chiefs and warriors of that race, who have been its benefactors, and who have bequeathed to it their riches and their bones. The Didascalos, an infirm and venerable old man, deeply versed in this traditionary lore, was delighted to find an attentive listener. I requested him to arrange my trip to the summit of the mountain, so as to pass by the cells or caverns of some of the severer or more remarkable ascetics, and expressed my great anxiety to see and converse with them. After a little reflection he said, "I think I can satisfy your curiosity without going to the Mountain. On the rock above this monastery a Solitary has, for the last twenty years, occupied a little cell, and we consider him the most remarkable individual in the Peninsula. It is not impossible

that he may receive you. His name and parentage no one knows; but he is supposed to be one of the independent princes who have been expelled by the progress of the Russian arms. He maintains, with the utmost strictness, the ascetic discipline; eats but of black bread, and at long intervals; and has no intercourse with any one, save once in three months with his brother, who is also an ascetic, and lives on a rock in the sea on the other side; yet does he appear to be mild and timid as a child; and though, of course, no one of us intrudes upon his seclusion, yet, I am sure, he would not shut his door against a stranger."

This account interested me so much, that I determined, without loss of time, to penetrate, if possible, into his cell. One of the monks accompanied me, and we soon arrived at a little square enclosure on the top of the rock, where a small chapel and cell, and space for a grave, were surrounded by a wall of six or seven feet in height.

We tapped gently at the door, and waited; then tapped a little, and waited a little longer; and again and again; and were about to retire, when we heard his stride across the court. The door opened, and a tall dark figure filled it, which, standing on a step within, had to stoop to look out at us. His countenance was dark and haggard, and a vivid but subdued eye was the only feature that then struck me. We paused for a few seconds: his first inquiring demeanour passed gradually into bashfulness; instead of demanding a reason for the intrusion, he presently began to apologise for

detaining me so long at the door, as he was at prayers, and thought the knocking was from his brother, who, he said, with a smile, was his only visiter. Expecting a different reception, I was embarrassed by his meekness, and could not find a word to say, but followed him into his little chamber. He ran and placed a cushion from his oratory, on a raised stone bench that served for his bed; and this, with an earthen jug, was the sole furniture of his cell.

I sat down; he seated himself opposite, in a corner; the monk got into the window, and there we sat for some time in irksome silence. At length I said, that I was a stranger from Europe, who had been attracted by the fame of Mount Athos, and trusted he would excuse my boldness in my anxiety to see one of its brightest ornaments. He said, calmly, "You are welcome to Athos; as to the rest, you have been misinformed." He smiled, but with features that had lost the habit, and, abashed, dropped his eyes. I endeavoured to get into conversation about the history of the monastery, and at length succeeded. He told me that he employed his very useless time in transcribing rare Georgian manuscripts. In speaking of the discipline of the monks, he said that they were, on the one hand, cowards, who fled instead of fighting; and on the other, wise men, who knew and distrusted their own weakness; that the world had some temptations, and the desert others; and that their privations too often led to self-commendation and to spiritual pride.

After half an hour's conversation, which it had not been very easy to maintain, I retired, much satisfied with having succeeded in seeing him; but provoked at not being able to penetrate the veil of mystery, behind which were concealed, I doubted not, a powerful mind and strange history. My conductor, as we descended, told me that the timid being we had just left, during the horrors that succeeded the subjugation of Cassandria and Athos, had bearded the ferocious Abul-Abut in his palace at Salonique; and, amidst the thousand victims of his cruelty, had sought in vain for the crown of martyrdom.

This visit awoke in my mind a strong desire to visit the romantic country of this singular man. High mountains seem to have a relationship to each other. It was on the summit of Olympus that the desire of visiting Athos arose in my mind; and as I looked on Athos in returning from the cell of the Caspian Hermit, my thoughts wandered to the Caucasus; and the hope arose, that some day my footsteps should tread its base, and my eyes at least rest on its summit.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE HOLY MOUNTAIN AND ITS INHABITANTS.

THE monks of Sinai, Lebanon, of the shores of the Red Sea, of Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Damascus, of Greece Proper, Georgia, Russia, and of all the monasteries scattered over Asia, and belonging to the Greek creed, look to the Holy Mountain as their model, and acquire reputation and consideration from visiting it, and from dwelling amid its consecrated groves. The monks of Athos itself are held in the highest veneration; their rule considered the most perfect; their ceremonies the most holy.* Secluded, as it were, from the rest of mankind by their position, their reputation of sanctity, their character for austerity, are not worn away by familiar intercourse. Their ranks are not recruited from family or local connexions, human frailty has no temptation, scandal no hold. If there is little piety,

* In the Eastern Church there is but a single order of monks—that of St. Basil.

and less learning, to be found in these castled crags, still, unlike the cloisters of the western church, neither slothful penury nor luxurious indulgence startles the novice, or scandalises the pilgrim. Hither, from the wastes of Russia, from the sands of Africa, resort the many-tongued votaries, to worship and admire, amidst the most sublime and elevating scenery; to repose on luxuriant verdure; to drink from cool and crystal streams; and to carry back to their unbroken plains, and their arid deserts, the fame of the terrestrial beauties and delights of this region, tenanted by holy men; and on which the eyes of angels and of saints look down with favour and with love.

Amidst such scenes arose the palaces of the monks, splendid and imposing, and adorned by the former lords of Constantinople. The taste and industry of thousands of monks, inhabiting detached abodes, had converted their cells into omantic grottos, led vines and creepers over the impending rocks, contrived fountains and bowers, and spread fruit-trees and flowers around: or, ascending the bare sides of the mountain itself, the stranger pilgrim might watch, at respectful distance, for a glimpse, among the rocks, of the cowl of some more aspiring ascetic—some prouder spirit, which had mistaken its way, and now sought consolation among such wild abodes, in carnal abnegation and in spiritual pride. There have dwelt, and still dwell, hundreds of solitary brings; some in insulated but comfortable dwellings; some in huts; some in caverns; choosing their habitations

according to their moods, and separating themselves from all communion with the more worldly tenants of the Mountain. At certain stated periods, they appear at the monasteries, on which they depend, to receive a supply of food, and to prove that they are still in life. Some of these have been known to pass years without speaking, and some have reduced themselves to eating once a week. Besides these privations, they subject themselves to discipline of various kinds, performing daily some hundred genuflections: in the cell to which I was admitted, the floor before the Panagia had been worn into two holes by the knees of the Solitary.

Belon, three centuries ago, writes thus:—"Of the six thousand monks who live on this mountain, I do not think there is one idle; for they leave the monasteries early in the morning, each with his tools in his hand and a sack on his shoulder, with biscuit and onions. They all work for the community of the monastery, and every one must practise some mechanical art. If there is any common work, they all undertake it together; but they have each one his particular occupation; some are shoemakers; some are cobblers; some spin the wool, others weave the cloth, and others make it up into dresses; some are masons, some carpenters, some build boats, some are fishermen, and some millers; and this is a great difference with the morals and manners of the Latin monasteries. Yet all are equally industrious, and no one receives more than the rest for his industry or his sloth:"—that is, the

frugal meal twice a day, the cell to inhabit, two woollen shirts and one habit in the year, and two pair of stockings. This still is the rule of the κοινόβοι, or Cenobites—that is, those who have every thing in common.* I asked the Goumenos of Simeon, which is a Cenobite monastery, how he maintained such order without rewards or punishments: he replied, "Men who come to such a place as this, have been broken by care; they are of a religious turn, and are advanced in life; if indulgences are sought by them, they go to the other monasteries, where their means can procure such; the poorer, the more devout, the more abstemious, come to us; but if one man is very industrious, and seeks to profit more than the rest, he can obtain a κοιλον, and go and live by himself; if he is very devout, he can become a φελερεμος, and go to the Mountain. Thus those that remain in the κοινοβοι are temperately devout and abstemious without excess, and perfect images of each other. The labour of our several avocations fills up days that no worldly passions distract, solaces or excludes regrets, and becomes the bond of our common friendship; the silent approbation of our fellows is our chief end, and this harmony we never suffer to be disturbed by the admission of a brother unlike the rest."

There are twenty-four monasteries; the principal are, Chelendari, Simeon, Vathopedi, Pantocrator, Iviron,—these are inland; Lavro, Agio Paulo, Dionysio Gregorio, Archangelos, and Castamoniti, are placed on the face of the mountain itself, towards

* From κοινὸς βίος.

the Ægean, and, standing forth in bold relief from the rock, are hailed by the passing fisher, mariner, or pirate;* or hid, nestled amidst cliffs and foliage, the boatman quits his oar to watch for the spire, and having caught a glimpse of it, devoutly crosses himself, and resumes his labour.

Belon was enraptured with the botany of the promontory; he compares its platani to the cedars of Lebanon; the creepers, he says, are so gigantic, that they would grow to heaven, if they found a tree tall enough to twine round: but what surprised and delighted him most was, "qu'il n'y a plante insigne qui ne soit connûe aujourd'hui par le même nom que Theophraste, Discoride, et Galen, laisserent par escrit."—"Les haults lauriers et oliviers sauvages répriment en tout temps l'ardeur excessive du soleil, et les arbousiers qui communement sont ailleurs arbrisseaux, arbres." The *smilax levis* ascends the crests of the loftiest platani, then spreads down over its branches, forming a defence of perpetual verdure against the impetuosity of the winds, or the ardour of the sun's rays.

In the days of Hippocrates, this country was celebrated, as now, for ague: he adduces several cases, from Abdera and Thasus, of the malignant fever, and of intermittent fevers; he mentions the Etesian

* "The Turkish as well as the Christian pirates respect the monasteries: thus, those who would spare neither father nor mother, relative nor friend, but would sell them '*à purs déniers comptans*,' have, I know not what, instinct which makes them spare the καλογιρος;—nor is this by reason of their poverty, for these pirates take men for their body as well as for their wealth, and can get fifty ducats for a slave."—BELON.

winds that temper the dog-days—the daily breezes during the hottest hours—from the south in winter, from the north in summer. In no other country could he have attributed such wonderful efficacy to air, and water, and situation, which are at this day examined, enjoyed, and venerated, as in his: the first merit of a spot is its "cold and clear water;" next, its "pure air;" and you hear a mountaineer regretting—not, as with us, his hills or his hearth—but his stream or fountain,* the peculiar breezes, carefully distinguishing these, and then the distant prospect. In hearing some of them learnedly and curiously descanting on these topics, attributing to peculiar situations and exposures particular effects on the water, and then the effect of temperature and water on the complexion, voice, temperament, and health of man, I had the same gratification of discovering resemblances with antiquity that Belon had, in finding the botanical terms of Hippocrates and Galen in common use.

At the extremity of the Peninsula, Athos rises into a lofty mountain, visible from thirty leagues at sea. Looking from the mountains of Macedonia, where you embrace at once the whole Peninsula fore-shortened, it may have the appearance of a man lying on his back; for as the nose and chin would so be raised in the air, and an interval would appear between the chin and the breast, so the elevated portion of the extremity of the mountain seems detached from the rocks that lie below, and which spread on either side as it were the shoulders;

* Every fountain in a village has a name.

then they seem to narrow, and to rise in the centre, and mark the navel; then spread towards the hip; then the abrupt escarpment of a mountain across the isthmus seems to give the outline of the knees bent and drawn up; after which the land, suddenly sinking, narrows where the joined feet might be supposed to touch the earth. From no other point is it possible to give to Athos the remotest resemblance to the human form. This, I therefore think, must have been the view of Stesicrates when he endeavoured to persuade Alexander to complete the resemblance, and place a tower in the right hand, and a cup in the left; the more so, as the town of Acanthus stands on the right side,* just beyond the ridge that would represent the knees, and where, by the perspective, the hand in that attitude would come. Corresponding to this point, on the left, is a knoll which might have been fashioned into the cup. This idea, it is true, has occurred to me since my visit to Athos, so that I do not feel that conviction which an inspection of the localities, with this view, would have given. When I looked on this scene, it was evening; the sea reflected the rosy hues of the heaven so truly, that you could scarcely tell where the sea and sky met: not a cloud obscured the one, not a breath ruffled the other; so that losing, by the height at which I stood, and the uniformity of colour which effaced the horizon, all idea of level, the mass assumed the

* Strabo, it is true, places Acanthus in the west instead of the east; but he alone does so, and by the context of the passage he is evidently in error.

form of a vast image; and an effect, still deeply impressed on my mind, recals the resemblance of the promontory to the human frame, which, at the time, I attributed to the giddiness produced by the illusion of the prospect;—the promontory seemed to rise into the sky, at first like a tree, and then like a colossus.

## CHAPTER XIV.

KLEPHTS, PIRATES, AND SMUGGLERS.

THE robbery here placed me in a most awkward position;—the Binbashi breathed nothing but vengeance; and how could that vengeance be satisfied? By fining the monasteries!

I may here remark, that the principle of all ancient government, by which the body is responsible for its members, is preserved in the East, and is the groundwork of laws, habits, and opinions. The district is in the first instance responsible, then the government. Here was an exceptional case, as the monks formed a distinct community. As military governor, the Binbashi became in the first instance responsible; and, indeed, he offered to pay me at once 5000 piastres as compensation.

I dreaded, however, being made use of as a pretence for extortion; and the monks, in secret, implored me to save them. I took occasion to represent to the Binbashi, that I was not at all incensed against the Klephts; that they had taken nothing

from me; and that I should be more anxious to favour their escape than their apprehension :—that such being my feelings towards the Klephts, he had *no right* to interfere in the matter. He laughed at my scruples; and, gradually working himself into a rage, he vowed such vengeance, and uttered such execrations, as are usual in similar cases. I, in turn incensed, told him that he had better display his choler against the armed Klephts than against the peaceable monks. He swelled with indignation at this reproach ; and pretending to apply my allusion to the Greek guards of the Isthmus, and perhaps, too, to show me with what scorn he could treat Christians and armed ones, he ordered a Greek captain up to the room, abused him for his culpable negligence, and told him that if he did not find the Klephts in three days, he should be hanged in their stead. Then suddenly changing his ground, he accused him or his men of the robbery,—ordered them to be mustered; and those that were present to be immediately brought to me, that I might identify them. The Captain turned on him a look of fury, and left the room without uttering a word. I protested against this outrageous proceeding, but in vain ; fifteen men were presently paraded up stairs ; I got up, and, expressing to the Captain my regret at being the cause of the unworthy insult offered to him and to his men, left the apartment.

After rambling about for a couple of hours, I returned to my Konak ; and there, to my surprise, found the Captain and all his Palikars squatted

round the room. As I entered, they got up, and, bidding them welcome, I seated myself; when they all squatted down again, and we remained for a couple of minutes or so in silence—I wondering, the while, at the cause of this strange visitation. The Captain's emotion would scarcely allow him to speak; and it was some time before I discovered that the object of their visit was to thank me for my good opinion, and for the manner in which I had resented the proposition of the Binbashi.*

"I have been a Klepht," exclaimed the Captain, "on land and sea; and then every bush in Athos trembled at my name! When I was Klepht, I owned it, and he (the Binbashi) dared not have reproached me with it; now I hold the Sultan's firman, and to me the mountain owes its security, and he dares call me robber!"

The Captain of Agion Oros holds his tenure as the Captain of Cassandra. He was chosen by the monks from among the robbers, and received a firman from the Porte, and a buyourdi from the Pasha, constituting him Armatole; exempting him and his men from taxes, and entrusting to him the district of Agion Oros. He had twenty-five men; with these he had to maintain the police, and to save his district from devastation by his "Chatir."

I have been often struck by the analogy be-

* During several days of rough weather, the Binbashi was detained at Caries, not venturing to return by land; having become friends again, I offered him a note of hand, as a *sauf conduit* through the mountains!

tween the Klepht of Turkey and the Contrabandista of Spain. The lives of both are spent in daring adventure on land and sea; their native inertness is roused by violent excitement;—their career is ennobled by exertion and danger ;—they are alike branded with the name of felon by legitimate authority, and endeared to the popular sympathies, less, perhaps, by their adventurous lives, than by the practical good of which they are the unconscious agents.

If Spain has not succeeded in establishing a commercial inquisition as detestable in principle, and far more destructive in practice than her religious inquisition; if she has not entirely extinguished the resources of her territory, and the energies of her people, it is that her geographical position permitted her misrule to raise up the body of Contrabandistas. France, Gibraltar, Oporto, supplied dépôts of foreign merchandise; the thousand passes of the Pyrenees, an immense extent of sea-coast, lofty and difficult chains of mountains, intersecting the whole kingdom, afforded the smugglers ample field for the exercise of their calling.

From time immemorial, immense bodies of organised smugglers have carried on a great portion of the commerce of Spain; and the remainder of that commerce would perhaps not exist but for the indirect effect of smuggling, which rendered the customs wholly unproductive when restriction was carried to an excessive degree. "Except bulky articles, or those of trifling value or difficult transport, *even prohibition* has scarcely any effect on the markets of Spain."

But if the smugglers have so much contributed to the preservation of the commercial prosperity Spain still retains, they have contributed in a no less marked degree to her national independence. This alone, under such a government, could have preserved breasts not callous to generous purposes, and prodigal of ease and life in their country's cause. When the hundreds of thousands arrayed by the government against the French were scattered like chaff, when the central administration, and all that belonged to government, — all that bore the stamp of legitimate authority,—was wiped clean away, then it was that the Contrabandista stood forth the patriot, and bound on the brow of his ungrateful country the better half of the wreath which was struck from the victor's head.

The legitimate principles of the internal administration of Turkey are such, that no set of men could ever be the objects of public sympathy by the infraction of them. Such an opinion may appear strange; but I cannot resist a conclusion to which so many separate inquiries severally lead me: take this one for instance:—Not in Spain alone, but in every country of Europe, are the moral effects of smuggling most lamentable; our coasts are covered with preventive-service men; our prisons filled with culprits in the eyes of the law, who are victims in the eyes of the public: respect for government and for law is enfeebled,—the common retribution of dissimilar crimes diminishes the infamy of punishment; the standard of morality is lowered;—the effect of opinion is

weakened. Yet it is only by such re-action, however deplorable, that the still more noxious effects of European commercial policy is to be corrected. Most strange, most unaccountable is it, that Turkey should offer us such a contrast on a question of such vast practical importance. That contrast I cannot more strongly mark, than by stating this simple fact. In Turkey there are no smugglers. It will be inquired, Whether the exactions of government are lighter than in Europe? Clearly not. Whether their custom-house officers, their preventive-service men, are more efficient, their punishments more severe? Quite the reverse: there are custom receivers and appraisers, but no custom-house guards, no preventive-service, and *no punishment* for smuggling. The fact is, that the government exactions being laid on property minutely calculated (by themselves) according to the amount of each man's wealth, there is no sympathy for a defrauder of the revenue. The Turkish government has never sought to disguise the amount of revenue, and has therefore preferred imposts on property to imposts on commerce; which seem to combine the greatest amount of revenue with the greatest freedom of industry; and, consequently, *cæteris paribus*, the greatest submissiveness to government.

But if the population of Turkey is not inimical to the principles of the administration, they detest the abuses of the local governor, whether the Pasha of the province or the Aga of the village. This, as far as I have been able to judge, is *the* evil of Turkey. The peasant, in times of con-

vulsion or under a petty tyrant, chained down by family attachments,—by the responsibility of relatives and fellow-villagers for his conduct,—endures labours, pays; but ventures neither to remonstrate nor complain, until some crowning indignity bursts all these bonds at once: he flies to the mountains, enlists with some of the Capitani as an Armatole, or joins some more ignoble party of marauders; and with Albanian kirtle, pistol in his belt, and musket over his shoulder, he presents the veriest contrast of what he has been. The tame, submissive, beast of burden becomes the wolf of the plain and the vulture of the mountain; but he is armed not against the supreme authority, and therefore is not rallied under a principle—he resists a subordinate authority in its aberrations, but his resistance is favourable to the supreme power, by being directed against abuse.

Thus, then, the Klepht limits the arbitrariness of Turkish rule, as the Contrabandista limits the despotism of Spanish law. But the most remarkable parallel is between the seven years' war of independence in both countries; when, under foreign direction, with apparently the most contemptible military resources, the greatest military names of the Eastern and Western worlds have been tarnished, and overwhelming armies cut off in detail by Guerillas they despised. Each country, paralleled only by the other, has succeeded, by a struggle of equal duration, in a contest which appeared hopeless in the case of Spain,—madness in that of Greece. Here I once trusted the comparison would cease to

hold; and that Greece, in escaping from the accidental evils of the Turkish rule, would not engraft on her national tree the systematic evils of Europe. She will rue the day that she exchanges the Klepht for the Smuggler.

The Klephts on land have also been pirates at sea; but there are various kinds of pirates, and the distinctions between them may be worth pointing out.

The geographical position of Syra is nearly that of Delos, the most ancient free port; and during the late struggle, and in the wars of the Persians and Greeks, the characters of the two ports have been identical; depending on a similarity of local circumstances that still exist, and political causes that have re-appeared. At Delos were interchanged the commerce of the East and the West, and the commodities of nations ignorant of each other's language,—perhaps existence. Here the commerce of remote shores found a central mart, and the vessels of warring nations a neutral port. Here the pirates were received as friends, and their plunder became legal objects of traffic. So, at the present day, the little insignificant island of Syra has risen to an equality with the first emporia of the Levant, from an intermediate position between the East and the West, and the three quarters of the globe; from its being a neutral port for the provisioning both of Turks and Greeks, the importance of which was so sensibly felt, that, without defences of any kind, it was respected by each, and paid tribute to both; and, lastly, it was the rendezvous

of the pirate,—the receptacle of stolen goods; and to this source of wealth is its importance to be chiefly attributed.

The number of vessels plundered by the pirates, from 1823 to 1827, has been enormous. Piratical enterprises were conducted by the three following classes of pirates.

The first class was composed of soldiers, who secured boats on the shore, and made the fishermen pull them to becalmed vessels, which they boarded and rifled. Success, and impunity, and necessity, gradually increased their numbers and skill; so that the Macedonian followers of Caratasso, who had established himself in the Devil's Island, (as the Protocols are pleased to call them,) had an exceedingly well-equipped flotilla, of sixty beautiful mysticos:—such are the pirates which generally infested the shores of Greece, from the Echinades to Mount Athos. There is no organisation amongst them,—no means of disposing of their plunder, and seldom any object beyond immediate necessity; and they enter a vessel as they would do a sheepfold, to obtain covering or a bellyful.

The mystico is a long, low, and narrow boat, with three or four masts, with latine sails, and a gun in the bow, and impelled by from twenty to ninety oars. These, lying close among rocks which no large vessel can approach, and whence they can pick off the men in boats coming to attack them, would suddenly, in those calms which so commonly prevail in the Levant, dart on merchantmen, as they lay immovable logs, or even board them in

the midst of convoys;* plunder them, and carry off their booty in open day, and almost under the guns of the convoying men-of-war. This is a species of pirate peculiar to Greece, and identical with the pirate of ancient days. The mysticos are probably not unlike the Homeric fleets and Athenian galleys:—the same calms, the same rocks, and the same political circumstances of the countries adjoining the sea, are causes which exist, and ever have existed.

The next class of pirates were the cruisers of the naval islands who, at a late period took to this species of industry. It may be advanced in extenuation of their offence, that they were often frustrated of legal prizes by false papers, by the interference of European men-of-war, and they were exasperated by the undisguised though unavowed hostility of one European power: they were pressed by the hard hand of necessity, and encouraged by the impunity of the misdeeds of others. If for the greater crimes of the Ipsariots further palliation was wanting, it may be found in the blood and flames of Ipsara. These cruisers went out first to maintain the blockade of Turkish ports; they next searched for contraband of war. They soon adopted the English creed of maritime international law, and searched all neutrals for Turkish property. Scrupulous at first in their seizures, and strictly legal in their deportment, they found good prizes escaping from their hands; the judges, right or

* They once even boarded and carried an Austrian man-of-war brig; but that was at night, and by mistake.

wrong, were suspected of collusion. These circumstances, but above all the decay of the consideration and hope which Europe had at first inspired, led to the frightful increase of the piracy of these armed vessels, which was quite distinct from the coasting piracy of the mysticos.

The piracy of the cruisers is such as other nations have been guilty of when driven to the like extremities; for instance, the Dutch.

The third species of piracy has resulted from the other two; and resembles the Bucaniers of the western hemisphere. These crews are composed of the most daring and depraved among the Greeks, with desperadoes of all nations. They infested the central group of the Archipelago in schooners' boats, or carried on in larger vessels more extensive operations from their impregnable fortress of Grabusa.

This new Algiers is a square rock, rising almost perpendicularly from the sea, separated on two sides by channel from the north-western extremity of Candia; the opposite cliffs of which are equally steep and regular. On the western side of the square, looking to the sea, is superimposed another cliff, narrow and abrupt, which can be reached by clambering up one difficult path from the table-ground of the inferior rock. This is the fortress; walled, but needing no defence, and mounted with some scores of guns. Its defence seaward is an impending cliff of 700 feet, from which height it looks down to the south and east on the bay, enclosed by a bar and reef, with rocky and dangerous

holding ground. To blockade or bombard such a place by a naval force, which could not keep such a sea without shelter or anchorage of any kind, is impossible; while the vessels blockaded could issue from, or retreat by, the two entrances to the north and west. This place had above twenty beautiful schooners, well found and manned, belonging to the more piratically inclined of the naval islands, and connected with the commerce of Syra. The disturbed state of Candia gave it additional importance; and, at the period of its capture, 7,000 men were assembled here. Some of the pirates had built houses, presenting a strange mixture of European commodities, that remind one of the establishment of Byron's Lambro; magazines, caverns, and the cisterns of the fortress and the church, were filled with French silks and wines, English cottons and hardware, Genoese velvets, Swiss watches, &c. Venetian mirrors, elegant time-pieces, and Marseillese commodes, adorned mud walls: their patron Saint was propitiated with the most incongruous offerings; and strange objects and unwonted luxuries were applied to the most homely and grotesque uses.

During the continuance of the piracies, I believed, and with justice, as the end has shown, that piracy not only originated in political circumstances, but was entirely dependent on them. It was only by organising the islands that piracies of the coast were to be prevented, and, by giving legitimate employment alone, that unlawful enterprises were to be resisted. By attacking them

they are exasperated, and their hopes extinguished; while the local circumstances favour their defence against our marine, which must attack under the most serious disadvantages, multiply itself on innumerable points, and risk both vessels and men for trifling advantages. To put down piracy by force, we must, like the Persians in Eubœa, have joined hands to catch them on the rocks; or, like the Athenians at Pyla, have spread nets to take them in the sea. Yet the news of the recognition of the independence of Greece, and of the establishment of a government,—chilling and anti-national as it was,—had scarcely time to spread over the Levant, when every species of piracy had ceased.

The ancient history of the Levant has an episode peculiarly coinciding with this remarkable event. The pirates at that period, from their central position in Candia, (as Lutro and Grabusa of the present day,) and stations in many of the smaller islands on the coasts of Asia Minor, commanded the whole of the Mediterranean; and not only exasperated the Romans by depredations on their commerce, and by descents on the Latian coasts, but met in battle array their largest fleets with various fortune. It was no small necessity that enduced the still jealous republic to place at the disposal of Pompey the enormous means voted to him for the prosecution of that war; which was the most extensive command that had ever yet been entrusted even to a Roman citizen. Yet in three short months,—in shorter time than it would have taken him to sail from one end of his province to

the other,—was the war ended; the pirates had ceased to exist. The robbers became husbandmen; and the republic, losing inveterate and powerful foes, found in them devoted subjects. Pompey gave them a country,—he gave them lands, habitations, independence, and connexion with Rome only by their own municipal institutions, to which they owed their distinguishing prosperity, and long attachment to the mistress of the world. "The successful management of this war," says a just observer, "which he finished in three months, is perhaps the most glorious event of the life of Pompey; and exceeds, in my opinion, the greatest actions ever performed by Cæsar.*

The amount of loss incurred by European commerce, during the Greek insurrection, is incalculable. I have heard the number of vessels captured, and formally confiscated,—captured by pirates, or plundered in the open sea,—stated to amount altogether to four hundred! Without admitting the accuracy of this estimate, the enormous extent of piracies is patent; and, besides the actual loss, a further loss was in reality occasioned by the interruption of communication, and the arrestation of commerce. To this state of things is owing the more determined diplomatic interference of Europe in the affairs of the Levant. The source of that interference was no doubt the sympathy of Europe for the cause of Greece, and the antipathy of Europe against the Mussulmans, systematically excited by the long-foreseeing cabinet of St. Peters-

* Arbuthnot's Tables of Ancient Coins, p. 250.

burg. But it was the piracies of the Levant which placed our government under the obligation of acting; that action, in our ignorance, being directed of necessity by Russia.

This is not the first occasion on which the piracies of these seas have called into action the diplomacy, and gravely complicated and compromised the relations of the great European powers.

A band of outlaws, under the name of Uscocks, the refuse of all nations, occupied, under the protection of Austria, for nearly the whole of the 16th century, a strong position on the coast of Dalmatia, committed depredations on lands, and unheard-of barbarities at sea: the commerce and the dependencies of Venice and the Porte were their prey; and, after embroiling all Europe, and entailing on Venice a loss of twenty millions of ducats, they were put down by a treaty, signed at Madrid, under the mediation of France, between Austria and Venice.

## CHAPTER XV.

DIET—ATTACK OF AGUE—RETURN TO SALONICA.

SUBSEQUENTLY to this period, my journey would be a sad and dreary tale, presenting but a succession of burning and shivering fits of the ague; against which I considered myself proof, and which, I doubt not, I should have escaped, had I adhered to the regimen I had followed for the previous year, and which I would recommend to travellers in this unhealthy climate when similarly exposed. The first point is wearing the dress of the country, and to have always an ample pelisse at hand, and constantly, on sitting down, to throw it over the shoulders. The open verandas, the crevices around, above, and below, even in the best constructed houses, and the excessive difference of temperature between shade and sunshine, produce constant draughts and currents, the tempting coolness of which beguiles one's best caution, unless provided with the facilities which the Turkish costume affords. The next point is shaving the head, one of the greatest luxuries in a hot climate. The absence of hair and

uniformity of covering, prevents chills by cooled perspiration; and, after exercise, the head can be wiped dry, and a fresh skullcap put on. As to diet, the principal object is to prevent perspiration as much as possible; to take as little liquid as possible; no wine or spirits; and I have found that fruit supplied the place of liquids without producing perspiration. The Orientals generally have a great prejudice against fruit; but what I have seen of the fever, leaves me no room to doubt the beneficial effects of fruit, both preventive and curative. One meal a day is, in this climate, sufficient; and that ought to be after the work of the day is over; or, if made in the forenoon, a refreshing and digesting sleep ought to intervene between it and exertion. Turkish made-dishes are tempting, but fat;* sheep roasted whole are dangerous viands with a traveller's appetite; and a general predominance of salt among the Albanians is intended to give the forbidden juice a stronger zest: against this, the prudent traveller ought to be on his guard; he would do well, if that were practicable, to confine himself to pilaf, yaoort, (a species of sour milk,) and eggs, which he can find everywhere: the first two form together a light, nutritive, and not unpalatable dish.

* Turkish cookery is also a tempting subject. There are several processes and principles new to us, and valuable. However, travellers, unfortunately, are not very liable to excess in this way, for, generally speaking, they have such opportunities of judging of Turkish cookery as a foreigner, from English taverns, might have of judging of English comforts.

Adhering to these maxims, though exposed to all the malaria of Thessaly and Lower Macedonia for the whole summer, I alone of our party, which originally amounted to nine, escaped the ague. While at Caries, I lived with the Binbashi; and to this I can trace the fever with which I was attacked. I was delirious during the first night, but was somewhat relieved next day by a copious perspiration, and had the mortification to find my servant nearly as ill as myself. There was not a house without one or two invalids; and no medical assistance whatever to be procured, not even for the letting of blood. The night after, during a fit, I perceived a stranger most carefully attending on me; on recovering in the morning, I recognised in my nurse the Abbot of St. Simeon, who, having heard of my illness, had hastened to Caries to perform this service of charity.

It was important that I should be conveyed to Salonica as quickly as possible; but the distance was eighty miles; and nothing but the instances of the Abbot would have induced me to have commenced the journey. I was placed on a mule, my servant on another, and we were transported in one day to Vathopedi, which is, if I recollect well, a distance of ten miles. Next morning I was again placed on the mule, but was too weak to proceed; a fishing-boat was procured, and I was transported to Ozeros. My situation was most deplorable; I had but a pelisse for bed and covering; and a mat to lay on the ground I obtained as a great favour. The misery of the place was such, that I could not procure a spare capote, and it was already full of

invalids. In the state in which I was, further progress was impossible; nor was there even a barber in the place to bleed me. After repeated inquiries, a man was found in a neighbouring village who professed to draw blood by a species of cupping with a horn, which they apply to the skin, slashed with a razor, and suck with the mouth, by a hole at the small end.

I ought not to omit the kindness of the Aga, a negro, who, during four days that I was detained here, came daily to inquire for me, and always drew something out which he had concealed in his sleeve: one day it was a water-melon; another day it was a fowl; "for," said he, "you are weak, and want something to strengthen you." I was at one time able to go and sit before the door, and he immediately bethought himself of amusing me by making the peasants dance. They had little will for dancing; but, before I was aware of it, a score of them were brought from their vintage and ordered to dance: "What could they do?" said the Primate, "dancing is *Angaria* (corvée) like anything else."

I here delivered myself into the hands of a celebrated Paramana, or nurse, who applied frequent frictions of oil, which really did me a great deal of good; and brought me a potion, which I was deterred from taking by the strong smell of prussic acid: it proved to be an infusion of indigo and laurel water.

My servant was somewhat recovered, and, after four days, we again resumed our painful journey:

still I was determined to pass through Nisvoro, the principal of the Mademites, that I might, at least, look on the locality of the mines, which had been a principal object of my trip. My recollections of the remainder of the journey are quite indistinct: the fever had become remittent, and then continuous; the weather was wretched, for the rains had set in; and considering that the country was infested with robbers—that I had not a farthing of money in my pocket—that myself and my servant were in an utter state of helplessness,—my passage from Athos to Salonica, fed, housed, and watched over, whenever we halted on the road, appears to be an indisputable proof of the good-nature of calumniated mankind. This was not the first time that I have found myself penniless in a strange land; and my own experience would lead me to say, that such a position is invaluable for instruction, and leaves no unpleasing recollections. I remember passing immense heaps of slag and scoria, I think in the mountain above Nisvoro; but in such a condition was I—for, besides shivering with the fever, I was drenched with rain —that I let myself slip several times from my mule, and entreated the strangers who were conducting me, to allow me to lie there and die. When I reached Mr. Charnaud's door at Salonica, I was recognised only by my mule and clothes; and the good folks there were startled at the apparition; for general credit had been given to the report of my assassination.

Shelter, repose, comforts, and medical attendance, in a short time worked a great change in me;

and, in a fortnight after my arrival, I was able, though very feeble, to walk about. My first thoughts were naturally given to Cassandra, and I determined on laying before the Pasha a formal complaint against the Aga. While I was considering how this could best be done, I learnt that Hassan Aga, the former governor, and my kind friend, had arrived at Salonica under escort; and that he actually was in the castle, suspected, it was said, of some traitorous correspondence, for which his head was to answer. I now delayed no longer, and though I had not requested the intervention or assistance of the consul, he, on learning the circumstances, entered warmly into the business, and accompanied me to the Pasha's; and I do not think that I lost anything thereby: but the Pasha had in his remembrance an incident, by no means pleasant to him, which occurred during my previous visit, in consequence of his shutting me out at night, when landing from an English man-of-war.

I stated to the Pasha the conduct of the Aga of Cassandra—his violence, but especially unmannerly conduct; and did not keep in the background the extortions of which he had been guilty, or the hatred of the people against him; and contrasted his conduct with that of Hassan Aga.

The Pasha merely said, "Very well;" and I quitted the Seraï with the conviction that the Pasha was going to act very decidedly; for I felt that I had touched the Turkish chords of his heart. In two hours afterwards, while lying on a sofa, exhausted with the effort, I felt my hand seized and

fervently kissed. I opened my eyes, and beheld Hassan Aga, who poured forth expressions of devotion and gratitude for his deliverance. He had been arrested some days after my departure by the Aga, charged with a plot for inviting the Greeks to Cassandra. The petition of the local Greeks in his favour had given colour to this accusation; and their complaints against the Aga were thus interpreted as proving the guilt of Hassan Aga. Report on report, to this effect, had been sent to Salonica; and especially by my Cavashes, who were exasperated against me for treating them as a Turk in my position would treat them, and against Hassan Aga for treating me as a Mussulman. They, therefore, on their return, loudly proclaimed the notoriety of Hassan Aga's treachery; declared him a Giour, in league with the Greeks and the English. The Pasha no longer doubted the criminality of Hassan Aga: public indignation was aroused against him; and, at this moment, he arrived a prisoner. His fate might have been immediately sealed, had it not been for the incident above referred to, respecting an English man-of-war; this induced the Pasha to pause till my return. Hassan Aga, meanwhile, had given himself over as lost, and was considered as such. After our interview, the Pasha, much excited, sent for and cross-questioned Hassan Aga: he, standing between a couple of soldiers at the bottom of the room, and expecting from the Pasha's manner an order for his execution. After musing for a while, the Pasha ordered the soldiers away, told Hassan

Aga to be seated: Hassan Aga threw himself at his feet. The Pasha said, "I see how it is;" and gave orders for a couple of Cavashes to proceed immediately to Cassandra, seize the Aga, and bring him to Salonica without an hour's delay.

A few days after this incident, I was summoned by an officer of the Pasha's household to the Divan. The Pasha received me with extreme affability: we chatted for some time about indifferent matters; coffee and pipes were served; and then, on a sign, the numerous train withdrew, and the little ill-favoured Aga of Cassandra, looking the image of terror, and the representation of squalid misery, made his appearance between two of the regular soldiers with muskets. I got up from my seat beside the Pasha, and, retiring to the lower end of the room, said, I demanded justice against that individual, who had used his delegated authority to insult a stranger (guest) and the bearer of the Sultan's firman, and on whose head was the curse of the orphan and widow. The Pasha said, "He is in your hands;" and on a sign, he was removed; his sentence was displacement from his governorship; confiscation of his property; was to be imprisoned for a space of time which it was left to me to fix; and he was to come to ask my pardon: this last was (considering the position of Christians) the most remarkable part of the transaction; and anxious to profit by it, to improve the position of my countrymen, I would not admit him when brought for the purpose, but said that he should go to the consul

and obtain his pardon, and that he should fix the term of his imprisonment. I had the mortification to see the advantage that might have been derived from this incident entirely lost. Thus ended the only complaint I have ever had to make, during ten years' wandering amid pirates, bandits, rebels, and warring foes.

Before I left Salonica, a purse of enormous dimensions, and of delicate workmanship, found its way into my hands, and for years I cherished this reminiscence of Cassandra and of Aglaë.

From Salonica I embarked for Negropont, and after three months spent in the midst of interests and events, very distinct from those I have been describing, I returned to England. I omit my journal during the subsequent excursion, as it would be of no interest without entering into details, and I prefer carrying the reader back to Albania, to view the conclusion of the drama which he there saw commenced; and I am anxious myself to return to that Eastern mind and character which is no longer to be found on the soil of Greece.

I have disposed of most of the *dramatis personæ* connected with my expedition to Mount Athos. I have still to mention that Capt. Anastasi became, for a time, sole regent. His father was named Captain of Polygiro: Hassan Aga went to Greece. I received the Pasha's promise that my captors should be pardoned, and my faithful Hadji become a respectable maccaroni manufacturer at Salonica—having learnt that art when he accom-

panied me to more civilised regions. Eighteen months afterwards, on visiting Salonica again, Hadji escorted me with several servants of his own; and, without any infraction of forms, I could ask him to sit down to the same board. As illustrative of the social ties that connect you in the East with your servants, I may mention that, on returning to Greece, I found commandant of the first post, a man who had formerly been a groom in my service; and the secretary and deputy of the Governor before whom I had to appear at Egina, I had picked up a destitute orphan, and taught to read and write while officiating as my pipe-bearer. Little do we suspect the amount of enjoyment we lose by the harsh lines drawn between the various grades of life amongst ourselves, while we pride ourselves on social equality; or how much we injure ourselves in mind and character by the degradation of those who are constantly about our persons.

## CHAPTER XVI.

SECOND VISIT TO ALBANIA—CHANGE OF CIRCUMSTANCES—CHARACTER AND EFFECTS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT — ARGYRO CASTRO — MUNICIPAL DEBTS — DRAGOMANS — GREEK MANNERS.

A FEW months spent in the sober clime of the West; a few months of comfortable beds; rain-tight roofs; smooth, level roads; gas-lit streets; cloudy weather and monotonous faces; had gradually recalled—first in my slumbers, and then in my waking dreams—the bright skies and stirring scenes of the East. Presently arrived the news of a fresh gathering in Albania; of a general movement at length, headed by the tardy Pasha of Scodra, and of Reschid Pacha's mustering his Spahis and Nizam from far and near. The embers of the fire that seemed almost extinct had burst forth afresh, and again were the destinies of the Ottoman Empire to be staked upon a cast.

After a few days' combat between inclination and prudence, the former obtained the victory. In November 1831, I made a sudden start across the channel: a rapid flight of twelve days landed me

at Otranto. In crossing from Otranto to Corfu, it was with heartfelt delight that I looked again on the mountains of Albania; but words cannot express the thrilling effect of the unexpected peals of artillery that welcomed me on the Adriatic wave. At Corfu they had some general notions of insurrection and war connected with Albania, but I could gain no information as to the relative state and position of parties. I heard, indeed, of a disastrous defeat of Mustapha Pasha, and of a beleaguering of Scodra; but the artillery I had listened to in crossing, proved to me that the sphere of hostilities was still very extensive. Nothing shaken in my resolution, convinced I should fall in with friends in one party or the other, with little to encumber me, and less to make me an object of plunder, trusting, as heretofore, to the ready hospitality and the human sympathies of the many-tongued tribes of the land of the Skipetar, I determined on throwing myself on the opposite coast, and on plunging into the midst of the convulsion.

It was necessary, however, to disguise my project, from the same dread which had attended my last entrance into Albania, that I might not be placed under arrest from kindly regard for my safety, and that my servant might not abandon me. Therefore, after receiving my friends' commissions for Cephalonia and Greece, instead of stepping on board the steamer, I slipped down to the Lazaretto, and resolutely passed that irrevocable barrier between civilisation and barbarism.

Next morning found us on the beach at Agia Saṛanta; and no sooner landed, than engaged in a quarrel with an Albanian Buluc Bashi, who housed his dignity in a ruined barn, and uniting in his person the various functions and attributes of harbour-master, custom-house collector, quarantine director, commander of the place, and guardian of the passes, conceived he was fully entitled to the gratification of inspecting my baggage, of scrutinising my person, of fingering my passport, and of making me pay for the quarantine I did not perform. To the whole of these pretensions I gave a decided negative. "Do you presume," he indignantly exclaimed, "to examine our passports, make our boats pay, rummage our goods, and then clap us in a prison, (Lazaretto,) without expecting that we shall do the same to you? No," said he, "vallah, billah, tillah—you must pay for your quarantine, and I must see every article in your saddle-bags." "Do you know the length," I retorted, "of the Sadrazem's beard? Do you know the length of your own body without the head?" and passing by, without waiting for the reply which seemed faltering on his tongue at this unexpected conjuration, I ordered my unopened saddle-bags to be taken up to the Aga's own apartment, and seating myself on his own rug, I ordered his attendants to bring coffee and pipes, and to get something quickly ready for breakfast, as I had been all night on the water. The Aga, thus unexpectedly stormed, resigned himself, scarcely believing that I could be a Frank, slowly entered the apartment as I

was concluding my directions to his household, and quietly sat down. I then informed him that no further notice would be taken of what had passed, but that he must immediately send and get horses, and let me have half-a-dozen men to escort me to Delvino, as soon as I had breakfasted; and at Delvino did I arrive the same evening, mounted on the cattle, and attended by the guards, of the Aga of Agia Saranta.

I had landed opposite to Corfu: the people, and particularly the men in authority in that quarter, were contaminated, and rendered both insolent and rapacious by the neighbourhood of what we call *civilisation*. I had made my calculations on their own natural and hospitable character. I had neither firman nor authority from the Porte, nor the means of resisting violence, nor even of buying services at the rate which would have been exacted from me, had I suffered myself to be imposed on. There was but one course open—that which I adopted, and which, though it did succeed, might have failed.

It was a real pleasure to me to find myself again domesticated in the East—that contrast of the mild, quiet, docile existence of the household, with the stormy agitation of the court and camp—that easy and elegant costume—those tasteful rooms and comfortable divans—that heavenly climate, and that existence passed in constant communion with nature: what a relief, too, from European tedium, politics, theories, systems, argumentation, and learning! The East owes much of its attraction to contrasts, which fade when the novelty is past; but

it possesses positive merits, which certainly increase upon you with experience and habit, and which never seemed so prepossessing in my eyes as at the present moment. But, beyond these, to me it presented one peculiar source of gratification. Arriving straight from Europe, having passed through a scene of unparalleled misery in the South of Italy, having quitted England immediately after the brutal riots at Bristol, having in my rapid course been the first to enter Lyons after the more systematic but more bloody tumult of that city, it was not without a feeling of self-satisfaction and of pride, that, considering the opinion I had ventured to form of Turkey, its institutions and its populations, in despite of the universal reprobation of the wise as well as the simple, that I contemplated, in the midst of the convulsions of Albania, the scene presented to my view under the hospitable roof where I was lodged, and in the aspect of the lovely burgh where my first Eastern evening was spent.

When I was last in the country, it displayed a general picture of anarchy and convulsion. The success of the Albanians led evidently to the utter destruction of the very sources of population and production: the success of the Sultan appeared to me to promise little, or, at all events, distant amelioration. I now found the Sultan triumphant, and the Grand Vizir besieging, and on the point of taking, Scodra itself. The inquiry, therefore, immediately arose in my mind—an inquiry which scarcely presented itself before—What will be the effect of this triumph? My attention was there-

fore anxiously turned to every trivial circumstance that could enlighten me as to the actual state or expectations of the population: the first glance at Delvino revealed a condition of things for which I was utterly unprepared. I shall endeavour to describe it.

On arriving, I had dismounted at the door of the Governor Youssouf Aga: Italian and French books were lying on his sofa; and in his hand, when I entered, there was a work on Greek coins. He received me with extreme urbanity, spoke to me with enthusiasm of the happy change that had been effected, told me that I had arrived at a memorable epoch for Delvino, (which, indeed, I had seen crowded with people as on a festal day;) for that next morning they were to commence levelling the castles of the various Albanian Beys, that overlooked and commanded the town. He showed me a schedule of the population of the district, with a scale of taxes that they were in future to pay, and which was to be published, to prevent illegal extortion; and which was fixed, in lieu of all former exactions, as follows:—

The Charatch (poll-tax,) according to the classes, as formerly.

The tenth, or Spahilik, was to be paid to the Governor, and not to the Spahis.

A compromise for all other taxes, 60 piastres per fire, equivalent to about 15*s.*; and beyond this not a single asper.

He conceived this arrangement to be a reduction of two-thirds on the amount previously exacted;

while it would return to the public treasury a larger sum than was formerly received. "The Sultan," he observed, "deserves to profit by his victory; but the christian and labouring population, through whose co-operation that victory has been gained, must also share in it." This leading us directly to the question of Greek independence, I observed that the independence of Greece might in one way be instrumental to the re-organisation of Turkey, if properly used. He turned his eyes on a Turk sitting by him, and said, "Now, do you see the truth of what I was saying to you?" and looking again at me, he said, with a sigh, "People are always the last to comprehend themselves."*

What was most surprising, was the perfect resignation of the Beys, whose castles were to be destroyed. "Our day is gone," they said, "and God is great. If we had triumphed, we should have done worse, and quarrelled amongst ourselves and our Tchifliks; if tranquillity is general, it will be better than our swords."†

Every person I addressed, with the exception of some few of the very old Albanians, seemed to set no limits to their expressions of devotion to the Sultan, and admiration for the Grand Vizir. Their amiable governor came in, too, for a share of praise and affection. They had even determined on

* It is to be observed, that this was the first time this idea was put forward by a European.

† One of them, rather advanced in years, told me that a new era was beginning; and that he himself was "tearing his eyes out" with learning French.

building a Seraï for him at their own expense. In allusion to the towers about to be condemned, that frowned from the steeps that overlooked the town, they said their Aga's Seraï should rise in the *heart* of the town (εἰς τὴν καρδίαν τῆς χώρας;) and, subsequently, a deputation of the elders of the place begged me to be the channel of this request to the Grand Vizir.

Such was the aspect of my first halting-place in the distracted land of Albania, after arriving from the civilised regions of the West, where Turkey was considered by one half the world as a living exhibition of barbarous anarchy and crime, and by the other as a vast and inert mass, from whose nostrils the last breath of existence had already fled.

I was guest in a modest establishment, deficient in no comfort—not wanting in many luxuries; my host's attentions were unremitting, but never obtrusive; his deportment respectful, as it was intended to be, derived not less of its merit from the style and manners of the country, than from the kindliness of the man. His conversation was that which would have been considered in Europe as refined and instructive in any class; and as infinitely superior to that class to which he appeared to belong. I was sedulously attended by several lads, his children, who, down to those of the tenderest age, performed their parts with a dexterity, and conducted themselves with a decorum, which spoke habitual practice; and which, to a western, appeared perfectly incompatible with the wayward-

ness of their age or the habits of their rank. Comfort, neatness, and extreme cleanliness, characterised the whole establishment; and the general calmness of deportment, and elegance of manner, might have led a stranger to believe that it was the retreat of one whose dignity could command, but whose taste rejected, the external signs of splendour and of power. My host was but a tanner, a Greek Rayah, whose means of existence did not exceed 60*l.* a year! He was also an elected elder of the place, a judge and arbitrator, a collector and assessor of the government taxes; an office held for six months, to which the community nominates, and is gratuitously performed.

It was on that day that these various points struck me in connexion one with the other, and upset all my previous notions of government and history; and make me look back at this present moment to the thoughts then awakened in my mind, as to an epoch in my existence.

But, to give some indication of the circumstances which produced on me such an effect, I must mention a scene which I had witnessed a few days before in Apulia; and but for which the social and domestic features presented to me by the family of the primate of Delvino, and the political state of its population, would have passed by without producing any more decided effect, or awakening any deeper reflections, than thousands of similar instances had awakened in my previous rambles.

Some twenty or thirty miles before reaching Otranto, the road became almost impracticable, so

I left my carriage, and proceeded on horseback; and being accustomed to travel alone on account of the greater chance thus afforded of coming in contact with the simple and real characters of the country, I left my attendants behind—and lost my way. Perceiving a village at a little distance, I made for it, and inquired as to my road; to my surprise I found that none of the inhabitants could speak Italian, but some sounds struck my ear as not unlike Greek. Great was my delight when I learnt that the name of the village was Kallimera. No doubt now remained: here was a Greek colony—here was, on the soil of civilised and christian Europe, a portion of that highly-gifted and attaching people, whose lot I had bewailed, and whose misguided energies I had so long lamented over, perverted and repressed under the doubly chilling atmosphere of political despotism and religious imposture. All this rushed upon me in a moment; I leapt from my horse, and entered the first open door,—all attention and all suspense,—expecting to look upon a brighter metamorphosis of the Greek race, and prepared to lose no fraction of the meaning that might be drawn from the new incidents I was about to behold. But to represent a tithe of the surprise and disappointment which a momentary glance around me sufficed to convey, is impossible; no hearty welcome from the host; no clustering round of "classical profiles," and picturesque costumes; no curious and anxious, but not obtrusive looks; no busy preparations among the family; no corner swept; no carpet spread;

no pillows carefully adjusted; no children striving which should first fill the pipe, or bring the coffee; no bashful maiden approaching to pour water over the stranger's hands! And can these be Greeks? and Greeks, too, transported into the bosom of Christianity and civilisation! Have they left in the land of barbarism that liveliness of air and manner, that smile of kindness and pride of hospitality, which for years I had witnessed and enjoyed, and conceived to be qualities and attractions inseparable from their name and race? After some essays, I found conversation with them in Greek practicable. They were but a recent emigration, yet they had become such as I saw them!

While I sat quite bewildered with the contrast this population presented with their cognate tribes across the Adriatic, my eye wandered across the street, and settled on a small building on the opposite side, of massive structure, and without windows; the door was strengthened by numerous iron bolts, and was secured by five enormous padlocks; above it was an escutcheon, like the sign of a pot-house, bearing the royal arms, and under it the words "SALE E TABACCO."

When conversing on the distribution of taxes with the primate of Delvino, this sign and motto recurred to me; *here* (in Turkey) were no Apalti—*here* were no police officers—*here* were no government tax-gatherers—*here* was no bachelor clergy, connected with a political system; but here *was* a village administration—*here was* the mind of the villager directed to his village affairs—here *was* the

opinion of the village omnipotent as regarded its elders, stewards, priests; and though they might suffer from the irregular excesses of ephemeral governors, they had not to wither under the undying errors of legislators. The excesses of the first tended to strengthen their natural intelligence, the errors of the second did not pervert the idea of justice, and confound the sources of right and wrong. These differences in their political existence,—were they sufficient to account for the contrast between the visible and material circumstances of the two people? Was the annihilation of local administration sufficient to account for the dereliction of the faith of their fathers, for the corruption of their language, and the degradation of their intellect? Was the difference of the scene I witnessed at Kallimera, and that presented to me by the family of my host at Delvino, to be referred to modes and principles of taxation? Are, then, morality and politics, religion, language, and administration, so intimately connected? These were some of the inquiries which tumultuously arose in my mind, and directed my attention from that moment with intense interest to all the details of eastern existence, and to all the contrasts between their state and ideas and ours. How far I have been able to reply to the questions then raised, I will not venture to say; but I do look back to the circumstance that suggested the inquiry as to a fortunate event—as to one which has been the source of much enjoyment to myself; which has agreeably occupied many a solitary ride and bivouac; which has relieved the tedium, or has

multiplied the attractions of the circumstances and scenes which have been spread over the years that have rolled on from that hour to this.

At Delvino I ascertained that Selectar Poda, the wary old fox who had refused to go to the Grand Vizir because he had seen no returning footsteps—that he, too, had been caught like the rest; his fortress, so long proclaimed impregnable, had been taken even without a blow; that the independent chiefs of Middle Albania had entirely submitted; and that the insurrection had been wholly put down, after a great battle between Mustapha Pasha and the Grand Vizir, near Perlipe, in which the former had been routed, and his army completely dispersed. But still Mustapha Pasha held out in the fortress of Scodra, where, although it was the middle of winter, the Grand Vizir was besieging him with all the force he could collect. It was even reported that the castle of Scodra had surrendered; but as the same rumour had been spread before, implicit faith was not then given to the intelligence.

I therefore determined to make all expedition to Scodra; hoping that I yet might be in time to witness the final catastrophe of the tragedy, in the earlier scenes of which I had been so deeply interested. In every case, Scodra was the point of attraction. There was the Grand Vizir, the chief men of all Roumeli, the survivors amongst my own Albanian friends; and, scarcely less interesting than these, the city and castle of Scodra itself. This point being settled, how to get there was the

question. The horses and cattle throughout the whole country had been greatly diminished in numbers, and those that remained exhibited evident proofs of the (to them) inglorious hardships of the campaign, which had, in opposition to all previous experience, been carried on during winter; the first, and perhaps the most important, effect of the employment of regular troops. I could not possibly perform the journey in less than ten days; and the mud, clay, mire, marshes, and sloughs, the cut-up roads, and overflowed rivers, which stretched between Delvino and Scodra, were displayed in strong, if not vivid colours, by my new friends. Those who became acquainted with my project called it madness. The idea of a European crossing the country at such a moment, where, indeed, a European had not been seen for twenty years; and where, though the Grand Vizir had been victorious, no order had been established, while the country was filled with reckless bands of the discomfited chiefs, appeared, indeed, an enterprise in some degree deserving such a character. I merely told my friendly counsellors, that at Corfu I should have been considered a madman if they had known I intended coming to Delvino; and that I trusted for the rest to *Kismet*, and the name of the Grand Vizir. And thus, after a single day's delay, I started for Argyro Castro, with an escort of a few men, which the governor could ill spare me.

Between Delvino and Argyro Castro rises a ridge, of about 3,000 feet in height; looking, with its bluff and rugged face, towards Corfu, and shelv-

ing down rapidly, but evenly, towards the north and east. At the bottom lies, parallel to it, the long narrow valley of Argyro Castro. Standing on the summit of this ridge, I turned back to look on the Ionian Sea and the Adriatic Gulf, stretched north and south; and divided from the sky, along a considerable portion of the horizon, by the hills of Italy. Before me lay the verdant vale of Argyro Castro, thirty miles in length, and four or five in width; and up rose, immediately behind it, and parallel to that on which I stood, a ridge of equal height and extent, presenting towards me its bold and beetling face. An opening in the wall of rock showed a third escarpment again behind; so that the mountains appeared like gigantic waves, rolling after each other, and turned to rock just as their threatening crests were about to break.

These ridges are of mountain limestone, passing in the loftiest range into beautiful lithographic stone, interstratified with layers of silex, which sometimes becomes red jasper. In some places the silex lies in layers of nodules, some of them perfectly spherical. The tendency to fracture rectangularly of this formation gives to these strata their peculiar character; the loftier part having on their face the appearance of a perpendicular wall. Above the limestone is a succession of layers of sandstone and aluminous shale, soft and friable, covering the lower part of the mountains on both sides, and rendering most toilsome the mountain paths, which the passage of beasts of burden during the winter had converted into a succession

of deep holes. The plains below are of clay; and, flooded as they almost universally are, the passenger, on descending, exchanges the chances of sliding over the rocks for the certainty of sticking in the mire. The castle of Argyro Castro, or the Silver Castle, is perched on a mass of conglomerate, lying inclined on the back of the ridge which I had traversed. Around it is scattered a town of 2000 Albanians, and 200 Greek fires. The governor, an Albanian, Ibish Aga, who speaks neither Turkish nor Greek, occupied an old and ruinous Seraï; and was surrounded with a train of armed retainers, who had any air except that of keepers of the peace. Notwithstanding the unpromising aspect of his person and establishment, I found that the same beneficial changes had here also taken place.

The rate of money is now one all over the country; previously the governors of districts were in the habit of altering the value of the currency, so as to enhance the Turkish piastre at the period of the payment of their troops, and to depress it at that of receiving the tribute. Indian corn, their chief means of subsistence, has fallen (taking into account the difference made by the establishment of the common standard of Constantinople) 48 per cent. in two years, and other things nearly in proportion. The debt of the Greek community here is 130,000 piastres.

Throughout the whole of Roumeli the municipalities are oppressed with enormous debts, which have been contracted during the last years of un-

ceasing wars. Had it not been for the depreciation of the currency, a general bankruptcy must have taken place. One of the first objects to which the Grand Vizir gave his attention, was the relieving of the communities from these burdens, in as far as that was practicable, consistently with the preservation of the rights of property. The creditors, it is true, deserve little sympathy; as the money that has been so lent has principally been the fruit of malversation on the part of governors or bankers; and the rate of interest exacted usurious. The Turkish law, it is true, does not recognise interest; but the deeds were so framed as to avoid the direct violation of the law. The Grand Vizir, however, dealt with the whole question in a summary manner; invited the communities who felt themselves aggrieved, either in the form or spirit of their contracts, to make their complaints to him directly, and these he adjusted as he thought fit; reduced the rate of interest, fixed a time for their liquidation, and even sometimes disallowed claims, or diminished the capital, when the communities had suffered from the exactions of their creditors.

It was very singular to see the tranquillity and expedition with which an affair of such vast importance as this was disposed of,—where so many powerful and contending interests were at issue,—where the obstacles in the way of arriving at the truth so great, and the difficulties of judging rightly so numerous. Yet the Grand Vizir, in his camp of Scodra, while besieging the castle, managed to

conclude the greater part of this intricate affair; and while that settlement was considered by the Greeks a benefit, only second to their deliverance from the Albanians, it scarcely occasioned a murmur of complaint among those who had suffered by his decisions.

There was an inherent difficulty in this decision, which, however, must not be omitted. The major part of the suitors were Greeks, while the defendants were Turks or Albanians. It will, therefore, at once be perceived how completely at the mercy of the interpreters were both the Greeks and the Grand Vizir. The discovery of some flagrant cases of deception led the Grand Vizir to inflict capital punishment on two of his principal interpreters and scribes, the one a Greek, the other a Turk; and this anomalous display of judicial vengeance was repeated from mouth to mouth with unbounded delight and satisfaction. Since that period, all memorials presented to the Grand Vizir in Greek are sent back by him, that the memorialists themselves may get them put into Turkish.

While the governments of Europe, which rule populations derived from different sources, have used every effort to extinguish the national feelings, and the mother-tongue of their subject-people, Turkey has uniformly adhered to a policy of non-interference, or, rather, to express myself more according to their ideas, of honesty. Turks, as other Orientals, never start by laying down an abstract principle which is to rule their practical conduct. They do not adopt, for instance, as an

axiom, that the language of the state is to be one, that the laws of the provinces are to be uniform, and then build or destroy to enforce the application of this abstraction: they, on the contrary, never interfere in any way, unless forced, by some necessity, to do so. They have not laid down non-interference as a principle of government; for that idea could only come as a result of interference—a result, by-the-bye, that no legislating people has ever yet arrived at. Each population, accordingly, preserves its own language and habits; and, for the most part, is regardless and ignorant of that which pertains to its neighbours. The Turks, in like manner, seldom know the language of their subjects, or of foreign countries; and thence arises a great and crying evil: the governors, the administrators, the judges, the merchants, are at the mercy of interpreters in all the details of government, law, finance, and commerce. These interpreters form a class linked together in interest and intelligence, which, extending from the centre of power to the lowest gradations of official existence, and spreading from the capital to the remotest frontier, form a vast net, from which nothing can escape; and which controls, by slight and invisible, and, therefore, effective bonds, the circumstances and the minds of men. The means by which you get entangled in the insidious web are so gradual and minute, that they baffle detection; and the power subsequently exercised by the Dragoman over his victim so absolute, that all thought of resistance or of vengeance passes away. Men be-

come attached to their Dragoman in that sort of way that men become infatuated with a mistress; from the moment they adopt his opinions, or identify themselves with his acts, they are entirely in his power.

These reflections were forcibly brought before me by the conversation during the day I spent with the Archbishop and Primates of Argyro Castro. There was a Turk present, who exemplified the ruin brought upon Turkey by the Dragomans (he alluded only to the internal administration) by the following anecdote:—

A few miles from Triccala, to the west, appears on the naked plain the ruined minaret of a mosque, which, ten years ago, stood in the centre of a flourishing village. I have mentioned it as the site of a village which had been ruined by the plague of 1812; so I was told as I passed it: I now learnt the real cause of its desolation. This village, called Capidji, was a tchilik of Veli Pasha, son of Ali Pasha: on his fall, this property devolved to the Sultan. (I may remark, *en passant*, that when property is held over the cultivator of the soil, the cultivator does not lose his right of occupation; and the landlord's interest is reduced to a *pro rata* interest in the produce.) By the arrangement with the farmer, the Sultan's agent was bound to furnish the seed. A Pasha, Essad Pasha, had been sent from Constantinople; at that time, the farms were under the superintendence of the Pasha. The country, owing to the insurrection in Albania and in Greece, was in the

most distracted state, and the sowing time was come; the elders of the village had made several fruitless attempts to obtain the seed necessary for sowing, as well as for their own necessities; and, finally, the whole population of the village—men, women, and children—assembled round the Pasha's palace, calling aloud for seed—in Greek, *sporos*. The Pasha, from the genial clime of Southern Anatoli, had taken refuge from the January blasts of Pindus in the recesses of his harem; and, hearing this tumult without, sent for his Dragoman, Ata Effendi, a Turk; but a Turk, if a Dragoman, is quite a match for a Greek, a Copt, or a Frank. Ata Effendi repre sented to his highness, that the people assembled were come, in a tumultuous manner, to demand money to buy wine for a festival of their idolatrous church, at which a great many of their sons and daughters were to be married. "But," said the Pasha, "what means that *Sporos! sporos?* "Oh," said the Dragoman, "that is dance! (*choros*) dance! —they want to be merry." The Pasha, indignant, immediately gave orders to drive the peasants from the courtyard. My informant was master of the Pasha's hounds, and, a few days afterwards, proposed to his master to course; the day being fine, the hares abundant, and the dogs in excellent condition; and managed so as to bring him through the village of Capidji. On entering it, not a soul was to be seen; the doors stood open, the furniture and effects had been cleared away, and no living creature was discoverable; until, apparently by chance, they found an old man, purposely placed

there to tell the tale of the village. When he related how they had come to the Pasha's gate to supplicate for corn, and had been driven away with blows and imprecations,—the Pasha got up, rode home, and stopping but to make some indispensable arrangements, continued his journey to Constantinople; leaving his brother, until the arrival of a successor, to administer the pashalic which he renounced. He has, however, been made Pasha of Erzeroum, where he has no need of Dragomans. I inquired what was done to Ata Effendi—nothing!

I supped with the governor. The supper was an exhibition in the most uproarious Albanian style; but through the cloud shone a ray of light as pleasing as unexpected, and contrasted singularly with the reckless air of himself and his attendants, and the general views of his companions in adventure. "We have done more," he said to me, in parting, "than you see or believe; because we have rooted out the evil that prevented the growth of good. Hitherto it has been but 'destroy,' 'kill,' 'burn;' come back in five years, and you will see the fruits of last year's manure."

It is a remark of some great man, that "men are always superior to their circumstances." What a paradise might not be made of Albania or of Turkey, were the men in the higher places capable of bearing onwards, to less imperfect fructification, the germs of excellence which men and nature there alike present! But, might not any and every portion of the globe equally become so?

At Argyro Castro, I have said the debt of the

community amounted to 130,000 piastres; no alteration had taken place with respect to it, nor had any application been made on the subject to the Grand Vizir. On inquiring the reason for this, the primates told me that their creditors were all Turkish proprietors in the neighbourhood; that the money was lent readily and kindly, to assist them in their necessities; that the interest had never been rigorously exacted, and that the rate was only eight per cent. Ali Pasha had, it was well known, appropriated to himself an immense amount of private property throughout his numerous satrapies.

This property has fallen to the crown; and the amount that has been restored, where flagrant abuse could be proved in the mode of acquisition, has still left it a considerable, if not the principal, portion of the revenue which the government receives from Albania. A system of administration for it has been formed, according to the routine pursued in collecting those branches of the revenue which are farmed. These lands are very numerous in the neighbourhood of Argyro Castro. The general director sublets them separately to middlemen, who are like middlemen all over the world. The peasants upon these properties have recently sent a deputation to the Grand Vizir, with a request to be permitted to pay directly into the treasury the sum which the middlemen at present pay to the superintendent. The value of this fact, as regards the facility of effecting an important change—I may say, the all-important change for the Ottoman Empire, which is here indicated—is what I cannot pass

over without pointing out, although I cannot now stop to discuss it.

At Argyro Castro, I was more struck with the family of my Greek host than even I had been at Delvino. I have never seen three handsomer young men than his sons: two of them were married; and if I were to attempt to describe the mode and style of their intercourse, I might be supposed to be describing the court of a Byzantine prince, rather than the family of a Greek shoemaker. Yet how much happiness may be traced in this domestic etiquette of the East, where authority is the gift of affection, and where love knows no office, menial or degrading. To each man his village is his country, because his home is his world. In the present unsettled times, it is more than country or world—it is sanctuary; and the respect paid to woman by the most reckless, there casts a shield over the weakness and pusillanimity of father, husband, and brother. But when, in quieter times, such protection is unsought, still does the home of the East not sink into the indifferent appendage or burden it so often is amongst us. It is with unfeigned gratification that I can bear testimony to the harmony that reigns there—to the courtesy that characterises its internal intercourse—to the privation which absence causes—to the delight of return. During several years of continual intercourse with these people, I have never seen a family quarrel: I have never observed, or at least my memory does not serve to recal, one of those incidents which so constantly strike and annoy the visiter and the guest in our own country. It is

this difference of domestic manners that makes them prefer their own country to Europe. How many temptations are not held out to endangered governors, to wealthy delinquents, to the needy adventurer, to the curious, to the disappointed, to visit Europe, and to reside in it? and yet, until very recently, I may almost say until after the period of my visit to Argyro Castro, scarcely had a dozen living Easterns visited Europe. Nor are they by any means deficient in curiosity, or in love of travel: Europe presents to them great and solemn subjects of inquiry; but the specimens of Europe and of civilisation that haunt the capital and the seaports, and the general impressions which they have received of our individual character, have hitherto averted from Europe every feeling of respect, and have not suffered individual bonds of regard and affection to be formed.

It must not be supposed that these domestic manners, and consequently, this national character, is to be found amongst the Greeks either of the Morea or of Constantinople. Wherever the influence of the revolution has extended, old ideas, habits, or feelings, have been obliterated or upset. In some individuals, their place has been occupied by a high degree of Western accomplishments; but the mass of the Greek race, wherever it has abandoned its old customs, has given away, without compensation, the elements of its past prosperity and of future progress. In political institutions, compare the present state and hopes of the Morea with its progress of ten years under the Turkish government,

before the revolution. In mind and manners, compare the disgusting exhibition of a Greek festal evening in the Princes' Islands, decked out in tawdry finery, which they call European, with such scenes of domestic happiness and comfort as I have attempted to describe at Argyro Castro, and which may still be seen in every village of European and Asiatic Turkey inhabited by Greeks. M. de Lamartine has pointed out what he considered to be a strong contrast between the Asiatic and the European Greeks, highly commending the first and reprobating the last. He has met, in his flight through Asia, some instances of the Greek character, deteriorated, but still original; he has met in Greece some of the Europeanised Greeks. Struck with the remarkable contrast, M. de Lamartine at once generalises, as any man must do who makes a volume out of the observations of a month, and builds up a political theory, or overthrows an empire, in consequence of a single observation or a single mistake.

In speaking of the disastrous influence exercised by the revolution over the Greek mind and character, I do not mean to say that the *war* of the revolution exercised a deleterious influence over the Greeks—quite the reverse: that war aroused the energies, and tempered the mind, of the Hellenic race; and their success, while it freed them from those causes of complaint which existed, either in their former habits or in their previous government, emancipated Turkey also from the chilling thraldom of the janissary rule; and, while it placed within

the Sultan's reach the means of their destruction, it awoke the mind of Turkey from that lethargic slumber which was gradually creeping over its senses, and closing its eyes to the complications of foreign wrong and policy which it could not fathom, and under which it must otherwise have inevitably sunk. Such were the elements, as regarded the East, presented by the triumph of the Greek revolution; namely, the pacification of the Levant, and the consolidation of Turkey; and immense might have been the results, had an enlightened spirit and a master-mind directed the councils of Great Britain. That position which she did not occupy, and did not comprehend, has been otherwise filled; and millions of treasure, and oceans of blood, which she may yet have to expend in defence of her own interests, never can undo the evil that has already been done. A single intelligent agent may prevent what twenty line-of-battle ships may be unable to redress; but you cannot have agents intelligent, unless you have a system, and unless you have men educated for affairs of such high national importance. Total absence of information can alone account for the policy of England, or for the events of the East for the last twenty years; and the commonest foresight must suffice to show, that a very short period of similar progress must lead to a general convulsion of Europe; where England must appear in arms, and stake her all in an attempt to counteract what her own influence has been used in peace to bring about.

And yet England, in total ignorance of the state

of the East, (and consequently of the political movements of the rest of Europe,) might yet have been safe, if she had been only aware of her own incompetence, and had stood aloof from combinations far beyond the grasp of the men of the day. It is her gratuitous association with Russia which has deprived her of her honour and her character, and transferred her power to her enemy.

# CHAPTER XVII.

## HABITS AND EDUCATION OF EASTERN CHILDREN.

THE demeanour of the youngest child towards his parents, as towards strangers, its habitual sedateness and docility, would lead a European to believe that children in the East are ruled with a rod of iron; that their spirit is broken, and the buoyancy of childhood crushed by the continual exercise of despotic paternal authority. It is just the reverse. If a man were to beat his child, there would be a general uproar in the street, and all the neighbours would run to its assistance.* The source of Eastern despotism has, by some writers, been discovered in the domestic tyranny exercised throughout the East. Volney, who has been called the philosophic, and Heeren, justly styled the learned, have particularly

* A little romping boy, of five years old, began to pull his father's beard and whiskers, till the old man roared with pain. He looked in a fearful rage, threatened unutterable things, but never thought of using his hands. I asked him why he had not beaten the child; "Ah!" he said, "what clever people you Franks are!"

dwelt on the great analogy that existed between, as they term it, the two species of slavery—paternal and regal. Whatever sentiments the scene presented by, I may almost say, every family in the East, might inspire for the learning and the philosophy of the one or the other, still does the analogy pointed out hold true; the structure of Eastern government is but the enlargement of the paternal roof; and the authority upon which Eastern despotism exists, as that which the paternal despot exercises, is granted alike by the affections of those who obey, and whose obedience would be inexplicable in a European school-room, or in a European parliament.

I had written thus far, and was about to quit the subject, in despair of rendering the mode of existence of Eastern children intelligible, when I was interrupted by a visit from a Turkish friend, accompanied by his little son. He mentioned an anecdote of one of the Sultan's children, at the time a boy nine years old, and of his own son, then four, which appeared to me a curious exemplification of the respective observances of these little personages. The Sultan, in an excursion, had slept at my friend's house. The young Prince had laid himself down, complaining of a severe headache, which my friend said he thought he could cure by reading from the Koran;* and, kneeling down beside him, commenced his

* In performing this operation, they lay the hand on the afflicted part, in a way that resembles animal magnetism. I certainly have seen pains thus suddenly relieved. The magic of Egypt, and that of India and Asia, are clearly a branch of magnetism.

practice. In the middle of it, however, the Muezzim's call to prayers was heard, and "the Shah Zadeh (the Prince) turned," said he, "to me, and asked my permission, as if I had been his own father, to go and perform his namaz." His carpet was laid for him, and when his namaz was over he returned, and we concluded our reading; and whether it was the effect of the prayers, or God's blessing on my good intentions, or his natural recovery, the Shah Zadeh's headache was cured. But little did I think of the misfortune that was going to befal me, for the Shah Zadeh said to me, he was sure I had children of my own. Now, I had only this good-for-nothing youth whom you see, so I began trembling all over, knowing what my child was. I have now found my misfortune, thought I to myself; I am lost—my child is lost—we are all lost. This is the Shah Zadeh; he has asked me, and I must tell him the truth; when I tell him, the boy will be brought. So I answered, "Your slave has a child —a young child, but a very graceless one, that has been born and brought up in the mountains, and does not know what respect and duty mean." "Vai," said the Shah Zadeh, "I want so much to see him; Kuzum, (my lamb,) send for him immediately." I wanted to go for him myself, that I might give my Ali Bey (his child's name) a lesson how he was to conduct himself; but the Prince, guessing my intention, would not let me stir, and there I was, trembling all over, expecting to see Ali Bey rush into the room, get upon the sofa beside the Shah Zadeh, lay hold of him, or, perhaps, ask him what his business was

there, and tell him to get out of the house. But Ali Bey, on entering the room, came running up straight to me. I had only time to whisper in his ear "*Shah Zadeh!*" and the little lamb went straight up, and, falling on the floor before him, kissed the ground, and then the hem of his dress; and after that, retiring backwards, crossed his hands on his breast, and did his divan. Whenever the Prince spoke to him, he gave the exact answer, and did his temenas. My face was white again, and the Shah Zadeh, turning to me, and laughing, said, "Mashallah Effendim, is this your little mountaineer?"

When the Sultan's eldest son was scarcely eleven years of age, I was paying a visit to the favourite of the day, who was in the room adjoining that in which the Sultan was with his children. Without any previous intimation, we were surprised by the curtain over the door being suddenly raised, and the Shah Zadeh walking in, accompanied by a black eunuch, half a tutor and half a dry nurse, and followed by about thirty little boys of his own age, young slaves, or sons of the grandees who are brought up with him. My host prostrated himself before him, and the Prince, to disembarrass us from ceremonial, nimbly stepped to the divan, and, jumping up upon it, sat himself down in the place of honour, the corner, but in the attitude of respect; that is, half kneeling, half sitting, with his hands placed before him on his thighs. The host then went and kissed the hem of the sofa, to which the Prince replied by a temenas, and desired him to be seated. He imme-

diately seated himself on the floor before him, but no sooner having done so than he rose, and stood with his arms crossed on his breast. The black Hodga then approached the Prince, and, bending down, whispered something in his ear; his quick brilliant eyes were immediately turned on me, and he desired me to be seated, motioning to a place near himself on the sofa. After a moment's pause, observing the pipe I had been smoking lying near me, he ordered it to be filled. The only thing I recollect of the little conversation that passed was, that he was very anxious to learn French, but had nobody to teach him. A present had been prepared for him of a very beautiful model of a ship, which he accepted with great delight; it was delivered over to the special charge of four of his little attendants, who carried it off, each holding a corner, with a degree of anxiety for its welfare painted on their childish faces, which provoked my Western risibility.

Then came a very handsome toy, which was presented for his approbation — a kaleidoscope. After looking at it and admiring it for some time, he laid it down, and shook his head, and being asked why he would not take it, he said, "I have taken the ship, because women have nothing to do with ships; but a gay thing like this I can't accept, unless there is one also for my sister." I wore, suspended by a riband, a small folding-up opera-glass, which attracted his attention; so I took it off and hung it round his neck, when the old black Mentor again approached, and whispered

in his ear. He took it off in a great hurry, and would have brought it back to me, had he not been anticipated by his attentive little troop, saying, "If you wear it, you must have use for it; you can't get another like it here, and therefore I ought not to keep it." What struck me in this was his sudden deference to the simplest suggestion of his black preceptor, who, on his part, seemed to approach him with every mark of reverence.

The young Prince, as soon as he felt there was nothing more to say, got up in that sudden way which Turks adopt to cut short the ceremonial of leave-taking, made a little hop, jump, and race to the door, while the youthful troop, who had stood ranged at the bottom of the room in motionless silence, and who probably for some time had been watching the signal for departure, were dispersed in the twinkling of an eye, poured out of the room, and were seen ranged in two lines on the outside, some of them straining to hold up the curtain. As the young Prince retired, my host's servants fell down and kissed his footsteps.

There is something inexpressibly interesting and attaching in the children of the East; and what can be more attaching than children neither backward nor fatiguing, who receive as a favour any notice that is taken of them, and conceive it to be their place, and their duty, to watch and to serve their parents and their elders? Their old-fashioned manners are rendered more remarkable by the forms and complications of Eastern salutation, ablution, services, and modes of being and

acting; and by the, to us, singular effect of seeing those little bodies equipped exactly in the same costume that is worn by grown people. In many places they even wear diminutive arms (in Circassia they wear them and use them too.) I once saw the petted child of the old age of a silly man, with a complete establishment of his own; and though scarcely more than nine years of age, he was seated on the sofa opposite to his father, and presented with a pipe by his own Tchiboukji. I could not help thinking, at the time, that if a book-making traveller had seen the scene, we should have been treated to a new series of philosophical inductions respecting the system of paternal and political government of the East.

At Monastir, where I arrived after leaving Scodra, the second son of the Grand Vizir, Ibrahim Bey, a boy thirteen years of age, resided. The news had there spread of the favour which I was supposed to enjoy, and of the reception which the Grand Vizir had given me at Scodra. The tutor and chief of the household of Ibrahim Bey came to welcome me on the part of his pupil and master:—my first visit was therefore to the Sadrazam-Zade. A family divan was held as to the ceremonial of my reception—the question being discussed first in the harem, which is the upper house here as in all the rest of the world, and subsequently in the selamlik, where the whole establishment was of course assembled, down perhaps to the sacca (water-carrier.) My servant was called and cross-examined as to my mode of reception by the great man, and by

those of his suite whose opinions might carry weight, and whose acts were valid as precedent.

The female portion of the establishment, combining in their persons the double infallibility of rank and sex, took the truer and most statesmanlike view of the question. They unanimously decided that Ibrahim Bey should not merely get up, but even that he should go to the door, to receive the Ingliz Bey-Zadeh. This decision on the part of the ladies might bear, and, indeed, requires a word of explanation. Strange tales had been whispered in the harem's inmost recesses of the external sovereignty of the sex in Frangistan, of the obsequiousness that there attends their steps, the humility that waits on their frown, the happiness that is dispensed by their presence and their smile. The lords of the creation there bend their necks to the willing yoke; and the proudest of the earth, the first in power, in glory, and in arms, yield submissive obedience to womankind. Startling, head and heart perplexing thoughts! What men must those Franks be! All this rushed to their lips, though it came not forth in this warm debate; and thence the unanimous decision, "Ibrahim Bey *shall* go to meet the Bey-Zadeh." A few messages exchanged between the harem and the selamlik led to a compromise—viz. that Ibrahim Bey should be walking in the corridor before the room-door — that our meeting should appear accidental, and as if he had been quitting one room to go to the other at the moment of my arrival. But the arch boy gave the victory to the women; for, on the signal of my

approach, (in the houses of Turkish grandees, the arrival of a guest is indicated by telegraphic signs,) quickening his movements, he gained five seconds upon me, performed his walk to the opposite door, then returned and met me. My visit over, and it was a curious one, and one to which I may afterwards have occasion to refer, I went to pay a visit to the governor of the place, and found with him the Mollah and the chief of the troops. I had scarcely been seated when Ibrahim Bey, to show me his importance, suddenly and unnanounced made his appearance, wrapped now in a flowing harvan, and with an assumption of stately grandeur marched up the room, and, seating himself in the governor's place, signified his pleasure that we might also be seated. He returned the salutations paid him with a most patronising air; and not one of the old men present, by the slightest look or motion of any kind, evinced a consciousness of the circumstance being liable to be considered extraordinary by a stranger. Ibrahim Bey accounted for his visit by his anxiety to see as much of me as possible during my stay. But he only waited long enough to order pipes and coffee, and to receive, as master of the house, the salutations of the guests; he then vanished as abruptly as he had made his appearance; and we presently heard in the courtyard the clatter of horses bounding away at full speed.

I might fill a volume with instances of social demeanour, of ability in the transaction of business, of daring and bravery in war, on the part of Eastern children, quite beyond what we should

expect at such an age; the instances which I have given will, however, suffice to show the self-control which they are taught by social habits, and by the consideration and respect with which they are treated by their elders and parents.

The subject of Eastern education is one which certainly ought not to be entered on lightly, and I by no means feel myself equal to deal with it; but when a few philosophical inquirers have turned their attention to the study of the East, education will become the subject of a most interesting and valuable work. Important as education has latterly become amongst ourselves, and that importance, regarded, as it is, at once as the sign and the means of the most advanced state of civilisation, it cannot fail to strike a European with astonishment, when he finds that education is considered by Eastern populations as of far greater importance than it is with us; and that Eastern legislators have provided for it a place among the fundamental institutions of the state. But while with us even education has become the subject of discord, and the cause of bitterness between religious and political opponents, it has produced, and can produce, no such divisions, no such scandal, in the East. There each community regulates its own offices, and it is the business of no set of men, under any designation of executors or representatives, to interfere with local customs.

Education is there invested with a solemn and religious character, pervading every class of the community, and extending back, by the proof of

public records, for thousands of years. Public documents of Hindoo villages, of above 3000 years, place the charge for the school and the schoolmaster as the first obligation incurred by the community: no fee was paid; yet education had not the stigma of charity. By the institutes of Menu, and the code of Mahomet, the parent was obliged to place his child at school in his fourth year. Reading, writing, and a certain knowledge of religion and of laws, were considered an amount of instruction which the state was bound to see conferred on its members; and Mahomet further imposed on the chief of every community the obligation of seeing orphans instructed in some handicraft, so as to enable them to gain their daily bread. Placing the child under the authority of the schoolmaster, was an act to which was attached the character of a religious sacrament; and the schoolmaster was rendered responsible for his conduct and behaviour. From the Hindoos, and from other portions of the East, have we ourselves borrowed the system of mutual instruction; and many of the forms of that system are now to be found in every Turkish schoolroom. In Persia, the proportionate number of children instructed in reading and writing is supposed to exceed that of any country of Europe. In Turkey, there is not a Sultan that has not left behind him his endowed college; what Sultan is there that has left behind him a palace?

The day upon which the child is delivered over to the schoolmaster is a family festival—the re-

latives, friends, and neighbours, are invited; the ladies in the harem, the male folks in the selamlik. The little hero of the day, though generally there are several, is paraded backwards and forwards from one assembly to the other, bedizened with finery; and kissings, blessings, and presents, are showered upon him. The Kourban lamb has been selected before, with due regard to colour, form, beauty, and sprightliness; it has been fed on the choicest dainties, tended and watched with the greatest care; it is now brought forth with pomp, the splendour of its whiteness exalted by festoons of gaudy ribbons and brilliant flowers. The sacrifice, performed by the father, and the child blessed by the Imaum, is delivered over to the schoolmaster.

Whilst the child remains at school, the authority which may be exercised by the father is, as it were, in the name of the schoolmaster. The child lives at home, and goes, for a certain number of hours in the day, to the school; if guilty of misconduct, the father sends to the schoolmaster to say, "Ali, or Achmet, Effendi* has done so and so—it is for you to act as you judge fit; but I have not failed to tell him my opinion on the subject." The schoolmaster is, by no means, so ceremonious in the exercise of his authority—has the little delinquent down on his back, wit his feet cocked up in the air; while the falaka, or long rod by which they are supported,

* The title of Effendi is given to the child the moment he takes the pen, or reed, in his hand.

is sometimes held by the whole school together, and the bastinado is calmly administered by the schoolmaster, sitting on his haunches, the industrious courbash in his right hand, the decorous tchibouque in the left.

I would particularly request the reader's attention to this separation of the castigator from the parent, while the child is not separated for the purpose of instruction in grammar from the real and only education for man—that of the parental hearth.

However, even at school, chastisement is of very rare occurence; and a Turkish child invariably, till he is six or seven years of age, is allowed to do just as he pleases; no restraint is placed on his free will or on his caprices, and no idea of punishment, corporeal punishment at least, exists, as far as I have been able to perceive. I do not recollect seeing even a pat of the hand given in anger, or in the way of correction; and such an act would be felt to be what might be rendered indecent. How, then, are produced, it may be asked, the sobriety and tranquillity of temper and disposition so remarkable in Eastern children? Might we not as well inquire why European children are boisterous, and rendered so wayward as to call for correction? Is there not that in our domestic habits, which, by withdrawing the natural control of respect and diminishing the domestic sympathies and affections, renders children unmanageable, and leads us to form an erroneous estimate of human nature? I feel I could

easily explain to an Eastern why European children are so little like theirs. It would suffice to tell him that our children were not taught to kiss their parents' hands—to stand before them—to serve them,—that our servants were mercenaries, hired by the month,—he would immediately comprehend how young minds, left without occupation, become wayward; how family affections and sympathies are chilled; and it would hardly be necessary to enter with him into the graver causes of our intellectual and political habits on the separation of children from their parents, and their congregation in schools.

The external portion of this difference resides in the forms and ceremonial which habit and imitation impress upon Eastern existence from its very dawn; so that, in fact, no greater punishment can exist than to be debarred from the fulfilment of these observances; the fulfilment of which, according to our mode, would be enforced by punishment. A Turkish child is punished at school, by being denied water for washing himself, by being forbidden to go to the mosque, or to say his prayers. Compare that with our thrashing for a dirty face in infantine years, or the confinement to chapel in our universities, as punishment for maturer offences. The first duty which the infant is taught, is to kiss the hand of its parent; the first use to which its tender muscles are applied, is to carry that hand to its lips; the faculties of mind, as they are successively developed, are applied to the expressions of affection

and respect; while, from its tenderest years, it is itself the object of unceasing and undeviating kindness, and even respect, from those around it. The little boy, three or four years old, standing with crossed hands and humble mien before its parent, is addressed by that parent with the titles of his house; and the girl of the same age, so standing before its mother, is addressed by the same word that the subject applies to the sovereign. Manners are the code of the East; indeed they are so all over the world; but we can only become sensible of their value, I may say, we can only perceive their existence, by coming in contact with new varieties and unaccustomed applications.

The character thus allowed to grow up, if I may use the word, naturally, while, at an earlier age, it acquires the reflectiveness of manhood, preserves, in the after years of life, much of that warmth and simplicity which, amongst us, flowing to excess and running to waste in our early years, is lost in the character of manhood; and while you see a Turk, in the vigour of manhood, delighted with the trifles, and giving way to the frolicsomeness which a child alone will enjoy or exhibit amongst us, you may see the young Turk, of ten or twelve years old, conducting affairs of intricacy and importance, demeaning himself, and treated by others, as the equal of those of triple his years. And if, amongst them, the public intercourse of the two sexes, which has been so powerful and exciting a cause in the progress of Europe, is forbidden, still does the constant, though never coarse

or familiar, intercourse of all ages wonderfully tend to the increase of domestic enjoyments and affection, and to the maintenance of that dignity of demeanour, and that equanimity of character, which extend almost from the cradle to the tomb, giving to the child the experience of the sire, and to the grandfather the light-heartedness of infancy.

A man of respectable or elevated station may often be seen walking about fondling a child in his arms, obedient to its caprices, and rendering it the services that a nurse or a menial servant would alone be called upon amongst us to perform. As the tradespeople or artisans return in the evening from their daily avocations, scarcely one will you see without some little token of family affection in his hand—a flower—an apple—a bunch of grapes —a quince. The following circumstance may serve to illustrate this intensity of parental affection.

An inhabitant of Broussa, a man of some substance, labouring under a chronic disease, consulted a European physician who was passing through that place. This physician informed him that his life could only be saved by an operation; and that it would be necessary for him to send for an able surgeon then resident at Constantinople, and that this surgeon must be retained at Broussa two or three weeks. The Turk wrote to ascertain the expense of this visit: the surgeon mentioned a certain sum as the remuneration he should expect—I believe about 100*l.*; and the Turk declined sending for him. The physician

originally consulted now expressed his amazement at his throwing away his only chance of life. The Turk made this answer:—"I have lived long enough; I am blessed with kind, excellent children, and why should I diminish that which I have to divide amongst them, from a silly wish to live a few years longer?"

The calmness and resignation of the Turks, under privation and misfortune, has been often dwelt on with enthusiasm; in nothing is it more remarkable than in the loss of children and parents. Devoted to each other during life, they deem excess of grief for their loss as a species of rebellion against the dispensations of Providence, and consider an external display of mourning as unworthy of their character, and as revolting to the feelings of sincere affection.*

In every Eastern family, the great object of respect and devotion is the mother. The children, whatever their affection for their father, never admit of a comparison between the duty they owe to the two parents; witness the familiar expression,—"Pull my father's beard, but do not speak ill of my mother." The mothers of the Sultans, and of the great men in Turkey, have exercised greater influence over its destinies than the Ninons de l'Enclos, the Maintenons, or the Nell Gwynnes of Europe; and may that influence never be less! Even in the house of Othman, that house wholly

* The Turks, therefore, do not wear mourning; this is, however, a national, not a religious habit, for the Mussulman Arabs delight in ostentatious ceremonies and loud wailings.

exceptionable in its position, and where the fratricidal horrors of that of Atreus have been for centuries renewed—in that house, where the sacred tie of matrimony has been forbidden by the jealous policy of its nominal slaves, but real masters, still there has the Turkish tie of son and mother retained its power, and benignly displayed on many an occasion its signal influence.

There is no loss which a Turk can suffer equal to that of his mother. If his wife dies, he says, "I can get another;" if his child is cut off, "Others," he says, "may be born to me; but I can be born but once, and can have but one mother." I once witnessed a remarkable instance of mental fortitude under the sudden announcement of a mother's loss.

Husein Pasha of Belgrade, subsequently Roumeli Valessi, was to receive a visit of state and ceremony from the Archduke Ferdinand, then making a tour of inspection on the Danube, on the opening of the steam navigation of that river. Various circumstances contributed to render this interview important, and every means were employed to give it effect. An hour before the arrival of the Archduke, Husein Pasha received the news of the sudden death of his mother. He prevented the communication of the intelligence to any one, and went through the duties imposed upon him by the circumstances of the day, as if they had been his only care, and as if all his thoughts had been devoted to his guest. When, next day, I learned the circumstance, I, in common with some other

Europeans, was struck by it in a way which it is impossible to describe. Here is a trait which would be designated Roman; but should the real Turkish character ever be appreciated, and its excellent parts brought into evidence and consideration by the elevation of their political state, then may traits of the history of Rome be designated Turkish. The great similarity of the two people I feel in this; that it seems to me that I had no idea of the Roman character or of the Roman system of administration, until I had made some progress in the study of the character and the institutions of Turkey; and I shrink not from avowing, that my opinion of my fellow creatures has been raised by my intercourse with the Turks.

This family affection, coupled as it is with dignity, forms the character of the people, and *is* the education of the youth. Education can never be anything save the impressing on the young generation the stamp of the old.

Having expressed myself thus favourably respecting their moral and domestic education, I must not leave unsketched the dark side of the picture, namely, their intellectual education. For this I am sorry to say little has been done. The Turkish language, which, at this present moment, is the only means of instruction for the numerous tribes of the East extending from the Caucasus to the Persian Gulf, is unfortunately amongst the Turks themselves despised and neglected. Children are set to study Arabic and Persian, and the Turkish is so mixed up with these two languages, that it has

become unwieldy in use, and so difficult of acquisition, that the zeal and ardour for instruction which prevail throughout the whole empire, and even amongst its most wild and ignorant tribes, are fruitless in great and material results. The backwardness in matters of science amongst the Turks has invariably been set down as a consequence of their rejection of everything foreign, and of their want of imitativeness. The case is exactly the reverse; it is their imitation of others, to a degree without a parallel, that has encumbered the language with foreign idioms; and thus has rendered the acquisition of two foreign and difficult languages a preliminary step to the use of their own. That imitation has not been directed hitherto to Europe, but to Persia and Arabia; and while they adopted, with fatal facility, the manners, customs, ceremonial forms of administration and diplomacy of the tottering Empire of the East, they adopted in the same spirit the prosody of Persia and the senile prolixity of the once vigorous and splendid rhetoric and philosophy of Arabia.

Recently we have seen that imitativeness turning round to Europe. Let the philosopher or the statesman now put together those various elements,—a moral groundwork of education, which I venture to assert to be infinitely beyond the level of anything presented in Europe,—a universal desire for instruction, a respect for science and for letters,*

* I once found a little Turkish boy rummaging amongst my things, and pulling out all the books he could lay his hands on; whenever he got hold of one, he carried it reverentially to his

a desire of imitating Europe. What may not be made of that people, if the proper direction is given at this present conjuncture, and the dangerous chances to which every change must give rise, are set aside?

I have been much struck to find in another European precisely the same ideas as to the effect of the domestic education of Turkey on its national manners. The following extracts are from a pamphlet on "La Question d'Orient," by Mr. Fourcade, formerly French consul at various scales of the Levant. The writer of them will, I trust, give us something more than a political pamphlet.

"Domestic education, and the well-understood and respected principle of social equality, have formed these national manners. It is the patriarchal life from which we are so removed.

"Also we are greatly deceived, when we take that respect of the subaltern towards the man of dignity for servility—a grave error. There exists in the whole empire a hierarchy recognised and indispensable; *et avec des traits moins irritans mais*

lips and forehead. I asked him what he was about; he said he was kissing the books. "Why?" "Because they would not be printed, unless there were good things in them." Fortunately there were no travels in Turkey amongst them. A Turk never passes a scrap of paper or a crumb of bread, without lifting it from the ground, showing his equal respect for the food of the mind, of which paper is the vehicle, and the food of the body. I once had to complain to a country governor of a drunken Tartar: the only attempt made by the delinquent to justify himself was, by narrating that I wrapped things up in printed paper, so as to prove that I was unworthy of any credence.

*plus prononcés qu'en Europe.* In every grade, in every class, and in every family, each shows to his superiors in rank or age that respect and submission which he in his turn obtains from his inferiors. It is the same in public as in private life. A woman never speaks of her husband without employing the words Agha Effendi, corresponding to Monsieur Seigneur; in which she is imitated by the children, who listen to her.

"These present themselves before their father with downcast eyes, the hands joined upon the breast, and with a countenance most respectful. Upon the grand fêtes, as in frequent events of their life, they never fail in kissing the hand of their father, and of their mother, and of their aged relatives, to demand their blessing;—all attach thereto the highest idea of happiness.

"Even between brothers, age is the object of marked deference. It is to the force of this domestic education, common to all classes of society, that is to be attributed *cette égalité de bonne tenue*, and of dignity that strikes one in all the men in office, even those drawn from the most indigent class of the people; which happens frequently in a country where hereditary nobility is not known."

"Deprived of our accomplishments of dancing, music, and painting, and games of chance, being wisely forbidden by their religion and their manners, eating only to live, and not living to eat, the society of the Ottomans is not very attractive for a European; but it is sure and instructive. Would

that we might copy from them that which is good, and that they might gain from us the useful knowledge in which they are deficient!"*

* Question d'Orient, par M. Fourcade, p. 97.

# CHAPTER XVIII.

## TURKISH LITERATURE.

To those who, anxious for the progress of Turkey and of mankind, are studious to examine the elements of improvement which that country possesses, the observation with which the foregoing chapter concludes must be one of deep importance, and they may be anxious to obtain evidence, first of its truth, and secondly, of the recognition by the Turks of its truth; which recognition is necessarily a preliminary step to that direction of their national literature, which can only result from a conviction of the advantages of a change. Shortly after the preceding observations were written, respecting the injurious effect upon the Turkish mind of the imitation of the literatures of Arabia and Persia, and the benefit that might be derived from cultivating their own mother-tongue, I found myself in the society of several learned Mussulmans; and the conversation falling on the comparative merits and advantages of the West and the East—of Europe, and of Turkey—one of them attributed the degradation of

the power of Turkey to the absence, on the one hand, of scientific instruction, and on the other, of religious fervour. "A nation," said he, "must be bound together by one of those two cements; Christ did not create an empire, but he revealed to man the wisdom and science that now flourish in Europe. Mahomet told us that all science was contained in the Koran; that he who was strong in the faith would vanquish all his foes; we have lost the strength of our religion—we have not gained the wisdom of Europe." I thought this a good opportunity of putting to the test the causes of the backwardness of Turkey, as stated in the last chapter—namely, the introduction of foreign terms and forms of speech into their language. I commenced by asserting, that the opinions he had expressed respecting the relative state of Turkey, and of Europe, were not his own; that they were not Turkish, that they were not true; that he merely retailed them from some European traveller; in which assertion I was immediately supported by some of those present, and it was admitted by my antagonist himself. I then requested him to listen to another explanation of the state of things, of which the following is the substance:—"Christ preached a religion, neither political nor worldly; it was one of faith and dogma,—not of forms and watchwords. He did not raise a standard to rally under it the great of the earth, but preached submission to the powers that were;—self-denial, self-mortification, and contempt, both for worldly science and worldly greatness. It was not, therefore, true that Christ

had revealed those sciences to Europe that had made her great and powerful; and it was quite the reverse of the truth that Mahomet had impressed upon his followers, and upon the political edifice which he had raised, a character hostile to science. It was only when the Christians came into the East, in a spirit hostile to the views and character of their religion, that, by their contact with the followers of Mahomet, the first seeds of science and literature were communicated to them; and, at the present day, the great proportion of the scientific words employed in Europe are words of Arabic origin. Whence, then, the present difference between Europe and Turkey? It is, that the branch of Turks who migrated into Europe (not Islamism) were unscientific; and, having a language splendid in its construction, but meagre in words, they have imitated, and continued imitating, without ever mastering, the Arabic and the Persian. The use of language has, therefore, for them been in a great measure annihilated; and when some degree of proficiency is acquired, they are set adrift on a sea of words and phrases, and literature thus becomes no exercise of the judgment, but sterile labour for the memory; so that the language of their people ceased to be a vehicle of useful instruction, and language itself became a barrier to knowledge." This was the first occasion on which I had given utterance to these opinions, and great was my gratification on observing the effect they produced; an effect which soon became visible in the tone of the society where it took place; and, lest it might be

suspected that complacency for a foreigner might have led to a readier adoption, or to a waving of the opposition which freer discussion would have called forth, I may state that the principal interlocutor in this conversation (Osman Bey of Ismid) was not at the time aware that I was a European.*

"The greater part of the Turks of Siberia are entirely without literature: many of them are even ignorant of the use of alphabetical characters; and very few possess any interest to arrest the attention of the curious: it is therefore with no feeling of regret that I turn from these barren and uninteresting regions, and approach towards the contemplation of the literature of the Osmanlis;—a people of the same race, indeed, as those of the northern wastes, but one whose love of learning, and whose efforts towards its attainment, have raised it high above the level of its kindred. The prejudices which have so long led us to consider the Turks as ignorant and unlettered barbarians are now, for the most part, happily removed. The age is past in which the praise a christian people would have elicited would be denied to Mohammedans; but we have still to contend with our imperfect knowledge of the Osmanlis, added to a certain degree of prejudice, arising from our education. The difference between the genius of the East and West is almost a barrier to our arriving at an impartial judgment on the subject

* Many Turks are authors of Persian and Arabic works; but two centuries ago the literature of Turkey surpassed that of Europe. It was from the works of Chelebi Effendi that D'Alembert took the idea of the Encyclopedia.

of Oriental literature. Formed on the model of Greece and Rome—tempered by the nature of our climate—the literature of Europe possesses little in common with the offspring of Asia. The climate of the North differs not more from that of the Oriental regions than the literary taste of their inhabitants: the beauties of the one are the blemishes of the other; and what the one admires, the other despises. Of all the Eastern nations, the Osmanlis have made the nearest approaches towards uniting the genius of both hemispheres. Situated both in Europe and in Asia, drawing their origin from the one, but having constant and continued relations with the other, they have, in some measure, learned to unite the beauties of each, and will gradually succeed in effecting a more complete union. But, although the difference of genius and style is thus rendered less perceptible in the Osmanli than in any other of the languages of Asia, it is not the less an Oriental idiom; and, if we judge it by the test of the European model, we still find it, in many respects, not consonant to our ideas. In thus trying the literature of the East, however, we are subjecting it to a somewhat prejudiced judgment; for whatever differs from the standard we employ, must be condemned; and but little, consequently, will escape the censure of the critic. In the physical world we judge of things relatively: the various species of animals we judge by themselves: we do not compare the ant with the elephant, or the eagle with the fly; each may be excellent, nevertheless, in its degree: let us not, then, follow the opposite course in examining the literature

of nations essentially differing from each other in taste and opinions: let us endeavour, if possible, to eradicate this prejudice of education from our minds; and let us not hastily condemn all differing from that to which it has rendered us accustomed.

"There is no nation more passionately attached to literature than the Osmanlis. Instead of the religion they profess restraining their pursuit of knowledge, as the ignorant have asserted, we find their prophet himself commanding it:—'Seek knowledge,' says he, 'were it even to China. It is permitted to the Moslems to possess all the sciences.' The mandate of the Prophet was re-echoed by the Sultan. The library founded by the conqueror of Constantinople bears its paraphrase, as an inscription:—'The study of the sciences is a divine precept for true believers.' Neither the Prophet nor the Sultan has been disobeyed. The Osmanlis have eagerly sought science, have zealously cultivated literature; and it will be the object of this part of my Essay to endeavour to show that their efforts have not been entirely unsuccessful.

"The dialect of the Osmanlis is the most polished of all the Turkish idioms—rich, dignified, and melodious: in delicacy and nicety of expression, it is not perhaps surpassed by any language; and in grandeur, beauty, and elegance, it is almost unequalled. The perfection and regularity of its derivation, and the facility with which it may be performed, render it extremely adapted for colloquial purposes. The addition of a letter or syllable makes the Verb Passive, negative, impossible,

casual, reciprocal, or personal; and combinations of these are produced in the same manner, and by the same kind of mechanism.

"The conjugation is rich and regular, and is principally executed by the aid of the verb substantive. But the most singular feature in the Osmanli, as in all the other Turkish dialects, is the inversion of phraseology which pervades the language: the sense of a passage, suspended throughout by the employment of the numerous participles, is determined by the verb which concludes the sentence: the prepositions are subjoined instead of prefixed: and, in construction, the governed precedes the governing. These peculiarities give a gravity and picturesque effect to the periods of a Turkish composition, which adds greatly to the dignity and expression of the language."*

The Osmanlis have enriched their language by the adoption of numbers of words: and all scientific terms from the Persian, Arabian, and Greek, and traces of the Chinese, are visible in their titles, and in many of their roots.

"From the earliest periods of their history, the Osmanlis have devoted themselves to the cultivation

* "Sir William Jones thus sums up the relative qualities of Persian, Arabian, and Turkish languages:—'Suavitatem Persica, ubertatem ac vim Arabica, mirificam habet Turcica dignitatem; prima allicit atque oblectat; altera sublimiùs vehitur, et fertur quodammodo incitatiùs; tertia elata est sanè, sed non sine aliquâ elegantiâ et pulchritudine. Ad lusus igitur et amores sermo Persicus, ad poëmata et eloquentiam Arabicus, ad moralia scripta Turcicus videtur idoneus.'—Vol. ii. p. 363."

of literature. The last words of Othman to his son Orkhan—'Be the support of the faith, and the protector of the sciences'—were religiously observed: and no sooner had his triumphant arms planted the crescent on the walls of Prusa, than it was adorned with a college of royal foundation, which the learning of its professors soon rendered celebrated throughout the East; and students even from Persia and Arabia did not disdain to become the disciples of the Osmanlis.* The example of Orkhan was imitated, and surpassed by his successors. Bajazet, each year of his reign, endowed an academy of science. Amurat, his successor, did not omit to decorate his conquests by the munificence of his foundations;† and, long before Constantinople became the seat of their empire, the schools of the Osmanlis were both numerous and celebrated. The conqueror of Constantinople, Mohammed II., was one of the greatest patrons of literature that perhaps any age or country has produced. Learned in the languages of Asia and Europe, he did not confine his patronage to the productions of his own nation or country. The poets of Persia and Arabia, the scholars and artists of Italy, were alike the objects of his distinction; and Noureddin Jami, the author of the beautiful poem of Yussuf and Zuleikha, and Philelphus, who addressed him in a Latin ode,

* "Cantemir, Hist. Ottom. tom. i. lib. 1. p. 71."

† "Id. tom. i. lib. 2. p. 266."

were equally indebted to his munificence.* Two universities owe their existence to Mohammed II.—Aya Sofiya, and the Mohammedieh. The first, consisting of six colleges amply endowed, was furnished with the most skilful professors of science; but the second, raised by Mohammed himself, was on a more magnificent scale. Sixteen colleges, adapted for the reception of six hundred students, were comprised within its compass: the most celebrated of the Osmanlis were numbered among its teachers, and Constantinople still considers the Mohammedieh one of its greatest ornaments. It has been the constant practice of the Ottoman Princes to attach *Mudirisehs* (مدرسه) or colleges to the buildings they dedicated to the purposes of religion. More than five hundred such institutions, each bearing the name of its founder, are still existing in Constantinople. In addition to these are a multitude of inferior schools, termed *Mektebs*, (مكتب,) in which the lower branches of education are taught; and above thirty public libraries, exclusive of the mysterious collection of the Seraglio, complete the literary resources of the capital, and attest the zeal and regard which the Osmanlis have displayed for the cultivation of literature.

"Before proceeding to survey the literature of the Osmanlis themselves, it may not be improper to examine to what degree they have cultivated

* "Gentil Bellin, a painter, of Venice, was sent for to Constantinople, to display his art; and was handsomely rewarded. He drew the portrait of the Sultan."

foreign learning, and how far they are indebted to other nations. Notwithstanding the pride of ignorance, and contempt for foreign learning, usually attributed to the Ottomans, we find them at all periods anxiously seeking the enrichment of their literature from the stores of other countries. In the reigns of the early Sultans, when the whole range of classic literature was in their hands, many of the authors of Greece and Rome assumed a Turkish dress. A Turkish version of Plutarch's Lives, made by command of Mohammed II., is known to have existed: the Commentaries of Cæsar became accessible to the Osmanlis in the reign of Soliman I.; and Aristotle and Euclid are also found in their language. These works are known to have been translated into Turkish; but it cannot be supposed that they were the only monuments of classical antiquity that attracted the attention of these enlightened princes; and it is not even now impossible that some of the long-lost fragments of classic literature may yet be recovered from the versions of the Osmanlis. Even in modern times they have not failed to procure translations from the works of various European nations. The Sultan, Mustapha III., introduced the 'Prince' of Machiavel to the Osmanlis; not, however, omitting, at the same time, to annex its refutation—the 'Anti-Machiavel' of the King of Prussia. Krusinski's Journal, the Works of Boerhaave, our English Sydenham, Bonnycastle, Vauban, Lafitte, Truquet, Lalande, and a translation of some unpublished manuscripts of Cassini, the astronomer,

presented by his son to the Turkish ambassador, are found on the shelves of the public libraries of Constantinople, and many of them have been thought worthy of being submitted to the Imperial Press. To the Persians and Arabians the Osmanlis are certainly under many obligations; and they possess numerous translations and imitations from the authors of those countries."*

These extracts are from the Introduction to Mr. David's Turkish Grammar. It was with a feeling of astonishment, not less than satisfaction, that I came upon idea after idea, in turning over the pages of that little essay. Death has, however, put an end to his labours and his usefulness: he lived long enough to witness the commencement of the mutual renunciation of antipathy, which must precede that fusion of the genius of the East and the West, which he so confidently predicted. But rapid, without parallel, as the progress has been, how much has it not been retarded, how much even is it not endangered by the ruthless destroyer which, in so short a space of time, has mowed down every useful and gifted labourer in this field; and has cut off those who, by the powers of their mind, and their equal acquaint-

* "'Turcæ, ut suprà dictum, Persas sequuntur, imò, sæpe, ita fidè, ut verbum de verbo reddant. Sed Alcæum, Archilochum, Bacchylidem, Anacreontem, alios, permultis in locis imitatus est Horatius: Latina tamen non minori voluptate quam Græca legimus. *Multi sunt prætereà versûs Turcici, qui, è Persicis non redditi, videntur esse valde belli.*'—*Sir* WILLIAM JONES, *Poës. Asiat. Comment. Lond.* 1799."

ance with those two worlds, were calculated to become links between them—Mr. David himself; then —within an interval of a few months, and even before his powers became known, or his reputation established, at least in Europe—Osman Noureddin Pasha. In August, 1836, Mr. Blacque, so long the sole champion of Turkey in the *Courrier de Smyrne*, was suddenly cut off at Malta, on his way to Europe; there to have employed, in defence of that cause to which his life had been devoted, the power of his eloquence, his energy, and conviction. His place at Constantinople had been supplied by Hassuna d'Ghies, who, after long and instructive, though not unclouded, acquaintance with Europe, had just arrived on the natural field of his usefulness, and was mowed down only four months after the death of his predecessor. An Englishman, a Turk, a Frenchman, and an Arab, had each, in different positions, arrived at almost identical views. They had all, by patient study, and long acquaintance with the East and the West, fitted themselves to become the instruments of counteracting the destructive march of events. They are gone; but they have left behind them a regret, which proves that their labours have not been all in vain; and that the cause they espoused is one which has already established a claim to regard from the sympathies of mankind, and to interest and examination from the cabinets of Europe.

At the time that Mr. David's essay was written and published, (1832,) no communication had taken place between those or other individuals in whose

minds the germs had been separately formed of those ideas respecting the East. One unqualified voice of reprobation pervaded the whole of the Western nations; and not a doubt, even at that period, remained of the practical extinction of the Ottoman empire, which, indeed, alone could have justified the opinions of the public, or the policy of the cabinets. At that moment, the publication of the essay of Mr. David derives no less merit from the boldness of the act, than from the intrinsic merits of the work; and though he alludes neither to politics, administration, commerce, military or diplomatic relations, the portraiture he has given of the literature and the mental dispositions of a people devoted to destruction under the pretext of humanity and civilisation, is one of the bitterest satires ever penned against dogmatic fanaticism, or national madness.

Appearing, as it has done, as an introduction to a bad and faulty grammar of a language which nobody in England thinks worth studying, though spoken along sixty degrees of longitude, and sometimes ten of latitude, of the most important regions on the face of the earth, and some of them in our own possession,—it has excited but little attention, and been but little read. I am therefore tempted to extract from it a passage or two more, more particularly as they contain the admission, by the Philo-Turkish author, of the extreme ignorance of the Turks in matters of practical science, which I have already so strongly dwelt upon, and an alteration in which I conceive to be pregnant with

results wholly incalculable, not only as regards Turkey itself, but as regards the whole of the East, even to the shores of the Yellow Sea.

"Though it must be admitted that the Osmanlis are inferior to the European nations in the sciences, they have been far from neglecting the study, and they possess numerous treatises on astronomy, mathematics, algebra, and physics. In philosophy, they have all the speculative knowledge that the Greeks and Arabians were masters of; but in experimental science they have made but little progress. In moral philosophy, however, and in treatises on the art of government and political economy, the Osmanlis particularly excel; which is the more surprising, as our ideas of the Turks and their polity would lead us to imagine quite the contrary.

"From their earliest periods, the Osmanlis possessed the best masters of astronomical science. Salaheddin, or Kadi Zadeh Roumi, was an excellent astronomer and mathematician. He was born at Prusa, in the reign of Murad I.; and became the preceptor of the celebrated Ulugh Beg, under whose patronage he commenced the Zidg, or astronomical tables, which bear the name of that prince. He died before their completion; and the work was finished by his son, Ali Kushdgi. Mustafa ben Ali, who lived in the reign of Soliman, was the author of several much esteemed astronomical productions. Mohammed Darandeli composed the excellent Ephemerides, entitled *Ruz Nameh*, روز نامه, which contains perpetual tables of the day, the hour, and the minute of each lunation, and a variety of information

essential to astronomical accuracy. There are a multitude of astronomical works in Turkish, many of which display great science. In most of the mosques of Constantinople, solar quadrants are found, fitted for taking observations; and astrolabes, telescopes, and other astronomical instruments of their own manufacture, are in frequent use, some of which are extremely well constructed. They have even the honour of invention; and Hadgi Khalifeh records, in his chronological tables, that in the year A.H. 987, a Turk, named Tashieddin, invented a beautiful instrument for observing the stars. Mathematics, geometry, algebra, and arithmetic, are considered by the Osmanlis among the necessary acquirements of a man of education; and a course of *Hindeseh v'al Hisab* هندسه والحساب, which comprises these sciences, forms a portion of the studies to which their schools are devoted. Bajazet II. was much attached to geometrical and astronomical studies, which he cultivated under the instruction of the celebrated Salaheddin. In the science of numbers their proficiency is very great; and the facility with which their calculations are performed has been frequently noticed.* On these subjects they possess many excellent works. The philosophical pro-

* " ' Ils calculent très rapidement par une méthode simple et fort courte. En quelques minutes de temps, ils font, sur un quarré de papier, un compte que nous ne ferions pas sur quatres feuilles en deux heures . . . . . Notre Arithmétique gagneroit à la traduction de quelques livres Arabes et Turcs, qui traitent savamment et sommairement de cette matière.'—*Toderini de la Lit. des Turcs. Cournand,* Vol I. p. 90. *Par.* 1789."

ductions of the Osmanlis are very numerous. Their speculative and metaphysical writings, *Hikmet ve Kelam* حكمت وكلام are similar to those which issued from our schools during the reign of the Aristotelian philosophy; and, like them, have usually a theological cast. The light of Newton, and the philosophy of modern times, has not yet shed its full lustre over the empire of the Ottoman; though, to their honour, it should be mentioned, that Raghib Pasha —the talented vizir of Osman III., and his successor, Mustafa—the contemporary of that illustrious philosopher, sought to procure a translation of his philosophical system.* Their moral philosophy, which is termed *Adeb* ادب, is, however, a science on which the Osmanlis seem to have bestowed some of their best energies: it is the subject of many excellent and valuable treatises. Their mode of conveying the principles of morals, by means of imaginative discourses and apologues, adds great force and beauty to the sentiments; and, strewing the path of knowledge with flowers, it renders its acquisition at once agreeable and impressive. An elegant work of this nature is the *Humaiun Nameh* همايون نامه. It is written in mingled prose and verse, and is one of the most beautiful specimens of the Turkish language that its literature can produce. It was composed by Ali Tchelebi, for Sultan Soliman I., to whom it is dedicated: there is also a poetical version by Gelali,

* " 'Reflexions sur l'état critique actuel de la puissance Ottomane,' without place or date.—*Toderini*, ib. p. 118, ascribes it to 'le savant et érudit Eugenius, archevêque de la Nouvelle Russie et de l'Esclavonie.' "

by command of Bajazet II.: the former is, however, the most esteemed. The *Humaiun Nameh* is formed upon the model of a work whose excellence is evidenced by its existence in almost every language, ancient and modern—the fables of Pilpay. Upon this, Ali Tchelebi has raised a system of ethics, couched in a series of amusing tales and fables, inculcating various principles of moral philosophy, and teeming with beauties of thought and language," &c.

"If the Osmanlis are our inferiors in the depth of scientific research, in the *belles lettres* they do not yield to us the palm of superiority. In poetry they display great genius and taste; and all classes are its ardent admirers. To so great a degree has the love of poetic composition been carried, that there is no grade of society in the Ottoman Empire, but has contributed towards it: the ladies, the Sultan, his ministers, doctors, soldiers—all have devoted themselves to the cultivation of poetry; and the divans, or poetical collections of above six hundred authors, are existing evidences of the taste of the Osmanlis for the productions of the muse," &c.

I take this opportunity of filling up a deficiency in Mr. David's catalogue of Turkish publications. Isaak Effendi, late chief professor of the Sultan's own college, was some time ago required by his Highness to draw up a course of mathematical instruction, to be used generally in the higher colleges. It has issued from the Constantinople press in three thick octavo volumes, and comprises the elementary parts of algebra, dynamics, hy-

draulics, optics, &c.; and conducts the student in the region of abstract calculation as far as the third section of Newton's "Principia," comprehending that portion of each of these sciences which a man, reading for a class at Oxford, would have to study. I have been led to mention this fact by observing inserted, as a "*pièce justificative*," in a publication,* the object of which is to justify the occupation, by an ally of England, of the capital of another ally (on the plea of civilisation), an extract from the work of the chaplain to the British Embassy at Constantinople, as follows:—

"*Extracts from various writers illustrative of the condition of Turkey.*

GEOGRAPHY AND THE USE OF THE GLOBES.

"Lord Strangford sent the Porte a valuable present. He had brought with him a pair of very large globes from England; and, as the Turks had latterly shown some disposition to learn languages, he thought it would be a good opportunity to teach them something else; and he determined to send them over to the Porte, and asked me to go with them and explain their object. . . . . This important present was brought over with becoming respect. A Choreash (Cavash) went first, with his baton of office; then followed two janissaries, like Atlases, bearing worlds upon their shoulders; then myself, attended by our principal Dragoman in full costume; and, finally, a train of janissaries and attendants.

* Russia, by a Manchester Manufacturer.

When arrived at the Porte, we were introduced to the Reis Effendi, or Minister for Foreign Affairs, who, with other ministers, were waiting for us. When I had the globes put together on their frames, they came round us with great interest; and the Reis Effendi, who thought, *ex officio*, he ought to know something of geography, put on his spectacles and began to examine them. The first thing that struck them was the compass in the stand. When they observed the needle always kept the same position, they expressed great surprise, and thought it was done by some interior mechanism. It was mid-day, and the shadow of the frame of the window was on the floor. I endeavoured to explain to them that the needle was always found nearly in that direction, pointing to the north: I could only make them understand that it always turned towards the sun! The Reis Effendi then asked me to show him England. When I pointed out the small comparative spot on the great globe, he turned to the rest, and said "Keetchuk," little; and they repeated all round "Keetchuk," in various tones of contempt. But when I showed them the dependencies of the empire, and particularly the respectable size of India, they said "Beeyuk," with some marks of respect. I also took occasion to show them the only mode of coming from thence to Constantinople by sea, and that a ship could not sail with a cargo of coffee from Mocha across the Isthmus of Suez. The newly appointed Dragoman of the Porte, (Isaak Effendi,) who had been a Jew, and was imbued with a slighter tincture of information, was

present; so, after explaining to him as much as I could make him comprehend, I left to him the task of further instructing the ministers in this new science. Indeed, it appeared to me as if none of them had ever seen an artificial globe before, or even a mariner's compass." *

This Turkish Dragoman, instructed by Dr. Walsh in the use of the common compass, and in the relative areas of England and India, is no other than the translator of Wood, Hutton, and Newton! If this fact should bring home, to any dispassionate inquirer, the humiliating conviction of the nullity of the oracles who have so long been suffered to direct the opinions of an enlightened nation on so great and vital a question, it will have been worth recording; but there is connected with it a consideration scarcely less humiliating, which the reader will draw, if he will but picture to himself the scene here described, and imagine the effect produced on the minds of those present, by the pitiable exhibition here recorded by the actor himself.

The value of the information of modern travellers may be estimated by the boldness of assertion, and the hardihood with which the faith, character, and destinies of these countries are disposed of. Useful inquiry requires, while it instils, temperance of mind and frugality of imagination. Theories and speculation are called in to conceal the scantiness of observation, not to methodise the abun-

* Walsh's "Constantinople," as quoted by Mr. Cobden.

ance of facts. How truly applicable to the present times are the observations of the learned Ockley, on the writers on Turkey and the East of his day: "If fortune did not envy merit, our Eastern travellers would all have been Plenipotentiaries and Secretaries of State."

In this age, when literature is so extensively circulated, and possesses such great facilities; at a period, when so many subjects of interest, when interests of such paramount importance, coincide in calling attention to the state of the East, it is most incomprehensible that nothing should have been done—I say, not worthy of our powers, the subjects, merits, or the urgency of the times—but nothing which can bear a comparison with the labours of individuals of former periods, who had to contend with innumerable difficulties, when little attention had been awakened in the public mind, and when their labours, not as at present, leading to great political, literary, and commercial results, could only aim at transplanting, into the literature of Europe, some of the historical and philological lore of the Orientals. The character of modern writers on Turkey is too frivolous and childish to merit even censure; they have nothing in common with the inquiries which that country presents; and, with the exception of the above quoted work of Mr. David, and the geographical and ethnographical labours of Colonel Leake, I know of no contribution made to our stock of information, in latter years, by any Englishman, on

the religion, manners, literature, administration, politics, or statistics, of Turkey. Since the time of old Knowles, there has not even been an English history of Turkey.* There is scarcely an Englishman acquainted with the Turkish language. A late ambassador, desirous of having a private secretary who understood Turkish, discovered that the qualified persons from whom he could make a selection, amounted to one — Mr. Mitchell, the assistant secretary to the Asiatic Society. There are three, or two, old residents in the Levant, who speak the Turkish language, and there is one young Englishman now educating, to fill the situation of Dragoman. Such is the amount of the means possessed by England, for maintaining its communications with the Ottoman Empire; such is the amount of chances which it has prepared for itself, for gaining some insight into the character of its people, or the nature of its government; such is the amount of the means by which her intelligence is to be represented to the eyes of the East, and through which her character is to be sustained, and her influence established!

Before blaming, therefore, the Turks too severely for their ignorance of Europe, we must consider our claims to applause for acquaintance with Turkey. What Englishman has gone to make a

* A couple of volumes, entitled a "History of the Ottoman Empire," has been published in Constable's Miscellany. It is needless to say more of it, than that Dr. Walsh is taken as an authority.

study of Turkey? Yet, how many Turkish disciples are now in England and in France!

Those portions of the East, which approach the confines of Europe, appear certainly inferior, in intellectual developement, to the regions that extend further eastward. The metaphysics and mythology of the Persians, Arabs, and Hindoos, have given an original character to the literature of these people—have developed their reasoning faculties, stored their minds with literary wealth, and filled their imagination with pleasing images: these various causes have rendered the study of their language and literature attractive to the inhabitants of the West, and have afforded to those who have made themselves proficients in such studies, the door to intercourse and respect, among the learned and influential. It is to the seeds of respect thus scattered by a few gifted Englishmen, that our Asiatic power and influence may perhaps be remotely traced. Metaphysics are the most powerful of all political instruments, as applied to the East; without metaphysics, and the facility of their application, to every trivial incident, a man can never obtain amongst them that character which, flying from mouth to mouth, is the source of power; without a competent knowledge of their ideas and learning, he cannot come off with credit from those trials of wit and strength; which contests, whoever seeks to acquire character or consideration, must not only not shrink from, but seek, and where he must triumph. In Turkey this state of mind exists, but by no means to the

same degree as further eastward; while the character of the traveller, who visits Turkey, is infinitely lower than that of those Europeans who, educated in England for Eastern service, have acquired the native languages, mastered their sciences, and become acquainted with their authors, and thus possess that knowledge, without which no useful intercourse can exist, but have also improved their own minds, and extended their views as men. The traveller in Turkey is invariably ignorant of the Turkish,—a knowledge of Turkish literature is of course out of the question,—but the commoner advantages of intimacy or friendship with natives of the country are also wanting; consequently it is not surprising that no Englishman, or no European, has produced an impression on their minds, or, I may say, is known to them at all. Yet what powerful influence might be exerted by any individual possessing but a few of the conditions requisite, and what a ground to work upon in the strong attachment of the whole population for England, and in the general conviction pressed home upon them by the dangers and the difficulties of the times, that their political reorganisation, and their national existence, now solely depend on Great Britain!

## CHAPTER XIX.

TEPEDELENE—RECEPTION AT BERAT—THE GUEGUES.

After this long digression, I must remind the reader that we have left Argyro Castro, on our way to Scodra. I arrived next at a place, the name of which calls up a thousand interesting associations, and which I entered with a feeling of respect which an Albanian would have been proud to observe in a stranger; that place was Tepedelene, the Croya of the modern Skander Beg. Arriving at it from the south, the beauty of the position, and the effect of the castle, are lost. I came at once upon a heap of ruins, and wandered about amongst them for some time, and under a shower of rain, before I found the house of the Aga. On approaching it, I had been met by companies of peasants, dragging towards Janina the guns that once had frowned over its battlements. The once proud Tepedelene, now sheltered but one hundred and fifty Albanian, and eight Greek families, and, as if this amount of ruin and desolation were not sufficient, the troops there assembled were busied in levelling the fortifications to the

ground. That work, however, had not yet commenced on the lines of white walls and towers that crowned the steep that looks to the north, and the base of which is encircled by a rapid and not inconsiderable stream; so that, as I left the place after being ferried across the water, I turned back to cast on Tepedelene the last stranger glance which ever would fall on its doomed battlements and towers. This seene of surpassing beauty led me, forgetful of the coming night, to linger there ere I turned away: the evening sun gilded the snow-white walls, while the recent shower had brightened the deep winter-green of the surrounding landscape, over which rose the brown sides of steep hills, their crests powdered with snow. Tepedelene, on its rock, stood boldly forward in the midst of the picture, and the swollen torrent dashed foaming round its base.

But I must not leave this place without some record of my visit to the Governor. He told me that twenty-four guns were to be dragged to Janina, but that the weather was so bad, and the country so difficult, that the labour was immense; that one heavy gun had fallen over the side and lodged in the river, and that it had been necessary to collect two or three thousand men to get it out. This, while it might appear on one side an Eastern metaphor, was, on the other, a correct delineation of Albanian mechanics. I took occasion, upon this, to extract a calculation of the labour requisite to drag these twenty-four guns to Janina, which amounted to one day's labour of ten thousand men. This

being by his own admission, I suggested the advantage of constructing a road, which, perhaps, four times that amount of labour would suffice to do, which would not only enable them afterwards to drag these guns with oxen instead of men, but which would facilitate the transport of all they ate, wore, consumed, produced, bought, and sold. My suggestion was, however, superfluous, for the chief, and all the by-standers, had already arrived at the same conclusion, and the answer was, "Tell that to the Grand Vizir." The destruction of the Castle was, however, a sore subject, even to the victors; they asked me if I did not think it was dreadful to destroy what it had cost their fathers so much labour to build? I could only answer by some commonplace remarks about the blessings of tranquillity and universal peace; and was asked, if we had not got a great many castles in England. Being tired of recurrence to those wooden fortresses, our superiority in which is so often quoted, only that our inferiority in all other material force should be inferred,—I answered that we had "a great many castles—our breasts!" and immediately arose an exclamation, in Turkish, Greek, and Albanian, one in sense, but diversified in sound, "Dogbru der," "Kala lei," "Mir thoet," or, "He says well!"

Here, as elsewhere, there was a great interest evinced for Poland, and anxiety for news or information respecting its condition; they inquired why the Poles, who had taken refuge in other countries, had not come to them; that Turkey would not

only have received and protected them, but would have given them lands and wives. But the refugees mistook their way, as the revolutionists miscalculated their hour. I had seen the Albanians in their wildest mood, and their worst days; I now saw them in a state of subjugation, but which, I hope, is also one of transition. If ever I should again visit their beautiful country, I may be rolling over terraces and roads in the midst of tranquillity and peace, the landscape formalised with fields and hedges, and the romance of war, and the interest of alarms, replaced by homely industry and ignoble wealth. Tranquillity, it is true, did now exist, but it was the tranquillity of fear; security I enjoyed, but it was a security bought by an apparent partisanship with the victors.

As I advanced, the country became less wild and rude, and the river, swelled in volume, was still in sound, and straitened in its bed. Night soon overtook me, and, after two hours' toiling in the dark, through the deep mud of the roads, and under torrents of rain, which, thanks to Mackintosh, fell upon me but touched me not, I was received under the miserly covering of a wretched Khan, toasted in the smoke of a green-wood fire, and treated to a not unwelcome supper of Indian corn and resinous wine. In order to reach Berat next night, I had to start three hours before daylight. The rain continued, mixed with snow; peals of thunder rolled over our heads, and flashes of lightning, now and then, happily directed our uncertain steps. The blasts from the Albanian mountains became more

piercing, as we ascended the passes of the Glava; and, though the sun rose not to our eyes, day broke over one of the most bleak and dreary prospects I ever beheld; the heavens were black, and the earth white. This rugged and inhospitable pass was crowded, however, with Albanian coulias, or little castles; one by itself, or two together, or ten at most, in the same vicinity, forming a *soï*, or race, which are bound together for the purposes of injury and defence; and if not always linked by consanguineous ties, are united by the undistinguishing vengeance of stranger blood, which may have been shed in their ceaseless feuds.

A numerous guard had attended me as far as Tepedelene. I had there got a fresh troop; but difficulties respecting horses having arisen, even though I had paid for them, and not wishing to be detained, I proceeded, attended only by a couple of Skipetars; and I afterwards ascertained that this, the only portion of my journey where I was unguarded, was precisely the most dangerous portion of the whole route. I confess that I would much rather have found myself at Corfu than where I was, when, towards the summit of this pass, notorious for the handiwork of its savage inhabitants, I perceived several of these mountaineers, armed to the teeth, hastening to intercept my passage. Their traditional mode of commencing, is to demand, not your purse or your life, but—snuff! My new acquaintances asked, indeed, for my snuff-box —a very modest sort of inquiry to make. I answered, that the days of "snuff" were gone by, but

still, that they were welcome to my tobacco-bag. They answered, sullenly, that they had not yet learned to smoke, and allowed me to pass without molestation. A little after I reached a Khan, where there were several Albanians. A Greek boy, the Khanji, served me as interpreter. They told me that their country produced corn sufficient only for four months consumption in the year; that the Sadrazem had taken the bread from Albania, and they never would enter the Turkish service. I asked them what they intended now to do? The Greek lad burst into a fit of laughter, and said, they are "sitting," waiting for the Grand Vizir to die; and treated them in other respects in a way which I was astonished not to see bring down ready vengeance on his head; but the spirit of the Albanians is broken; each individual of the nation is a changed being; and, as they said themselves, "their hearts are cold and their lips parched."

It was nearly sunset when I reached Berat, the Arnaout Belgrade, romantically situated between the lofty rock on which stood the castle, and the mountain from which that rock has been severed by the river Beratino. Along both banks of the winding stream is spread the town, and the two banks are united by a high and handsome bridge. Here the Greek women wear yashmacks and feridgees like those of the Mussulmans. I forgot to mention, that at Delvino the Mussulman women wear the most ludicrous dress that woman's fancy ever invented: which consists of a white wrapper, covering them from the top of the head to the feet, with two

half sleeves, into which their elbows are thrust, their hands being crossed upon their breasts, and their elbows stuck out at right angles. In this way they stalk about like rough-hewn marble crosses. This white wrapper opens at the face, however, to display a black mask, with two holes for the eyes. To all my inquiries as to the origin of this singular costume, I got one invariable answer, ἐτσι ευρήθικε—"so it has been found."

At Berat my reception was of an extraordinary and instructive nature. I have before dwelt on the social distinctions made between Mussulmans and Christians; and the reader has seen some of the difficulties in which I have been involved, in consequence of attempts to emancipate myself from the common treatment reserved for Europeans. But I have re-written, when better informed, the account of circumstances which occurred in the process of gaining information. Notwithstanding all the means of intercourse I had previously had, I feel myself indebted to an incident at Berat for the idea of the necessity of the systematic study of Oriental etiquette.

The news of my return to Albania had reached some of my old friends, who were delighted at a mark of so much interest taken in them by a European. The curiosity respecting Europe, which, during the last few years, has been so rapidly growing throughout the Turkish dominions, had been quickened within a certain circle by the incidents of my last journey, and by those personal associations which are the necessary basis

of international regard. Not only, therefore, did I find at Berat every disposition to receive me in the most friendly manner, but letters had also arrived, enjoining the exhibition of those dispositions which were already so favourable. The Governor was absent; but his son, a youth of twenty, who filled his place, seized, with the warmth of his age, the opportunity of gratifying his predilection for the new order of things.

The Bishop being absent, the young Bey had the Episcopal residence prepared for me, and sent thither his own train of Mussulman attendants. I was visited by the most distinguished people of the place; and, thus surrounded by all the necessary appliances, caught the practice of Eastern ceremonial with a readiness surprising to myself. For some idea of the variations of salutation to guests of different degrees—for the particular point of the room or stairs where they were to be met—for the mode and measure of salutation—the spot where they were to sit—for the inquiries to be made, or the answers to be returned,—I must refer the reader to the details I have given, in a previous sketch, of Turkish manners.

Next morning, I took leave of my youthful host, not without a promise of returning to Berat. He could now, he said, only dream that there had been a European at Berat; and that my short visit had left him with wishes excited, but not gratified. A few months afterwards I learned, with sincere regret, that this fine young man had met with an untimely grave.

I now entered on the beautiful champaign country that stretches to the north, and travelled twenty miles across a dead level, which appeared like the unruffled surface of a lake, and was cropped close by sheep. I had a letter from Berat to a Turkish Bey, at whose house I was to sleep; and here, for the first time, I was served in a Turkish house before the master. "Nothing is so striking as the change of manner now so rapidly taking place; every day, the attentions I receive seem to exceed those of the preceding one." The foregoing phrase was written at the time: I did not then understand that the change was in me, not in them.

The next day, in the afternoon, I arrived at Cavalha; and on entering the place, which contains between two and three hundred Guegue families, I met Ibrahim Bey, the proprietor of this place and the surrounding country, accompanied by a troop of savage and picturesque looking horsemen; but they all fell short of the ferocious air of their leader —a man guilty of every crime, and stained with every vice, and detested alike by Turks and Christians.

He possesses—in the way that an Albanian Odjack possesses—an extent of country thirty miles in every direction. I had now fairly entered into the country of the Guegues: they are the northernmost of the three general divisions of Albania;—the first, to the south, called Châmi, of which Janini is the capital; the second, composed of the Toxides, the Liapes, and others, extends to Berat; the third, from Berat to the mountains of Monte Negro and

Bosnia, are the Guegues. These last, though speaking a dialect of the Skipt, or Albanian, are strongly tinctured with Sclavonian blood; whereas, to the south, the influence of Greece has more prevailed. The Guegues have a distinct costume: they wear the *fustanel*, or large white kilt; but the short jacket of the southern Albanians is with them prolonged into a skirt—descends as low as the extremity of the *fustanel*, and is bound under their belt, so as entirely to cover the *fustanel* behind. The colours they affect are crimson and purple; and these, with their red caps, white *fustanels*, red leggings, and gold-embroidered vests, give a richness and splendour to their appearance, especially when assembled in numbers, which exceeds, even in effect, that most elegant of costumes, the southern Albanian. I never saw anything more beautiful than the groups of children. The paleness of complexion which, even in infancy, casts its invariable shade, here yields to the joint influence of the mountains and the north. The little creatures wear, in miniature, the formal dresses of their sires; and the delicate crimson of their cheeks is matched with that colour which supersedes every other in their costume.

## CHAPTER XX.

MIDNIGHT ADVENTURES — DURAZZO — TURKISH NOTIONS ON COMMERCE — EUROPEAN CONSULS AND RESIDENTS — THE FRENCH IN EGYPT — MEHEMET ALI PASHA — NORTHERN ALBANIA.

Learning that an old and highly esteemed friend of mine was Governor of Durazzo, I resolved to hasten on to that place the same evening. The distance was three hours; so, leaving the inhospitable Cavalha at an hour before sunset, I rode rapidly on alone, to reach Durazzo as early as possible. My haste, however, brought me no speed; instead of following the coast, to reach Durazzo, situated on a narrow neck of land, I struck to the right, it being quite dark, and got on the road leading from Durazzo northward. I spent a miserable night, having two or three times got entangled in quagmires; and at length reached a village, where I was assailed by troops of dogs. I succeeded, however, in arousing the inmates of a house. My appearance, or at least the noise I made, soon created an alarm, but there was no possibility of understanding a word on either side; and a light

presently appearing within, I had the satisfaction of seeing half a dozen men shadowed forth at the different windows, each with his musket. I thought it now high time to retreat, even if to the quagmires; and, making the best of my way out of the enclosures that surrounded this inhospitable abode, I did conceive my troubles were all over, when I came to a well-beaten road. This, of course, could only lead to Durazzo, and I proceeded confidently, if not heartily, along; but a few hundred paces brought me to the edge of a small river. Seeing the path directed to the ford, I pushed in without hesitation: the water came up to the middle of my saddle; but I thought my horse was just about to step up the opposite bank, when he suddenly lost his footing, and we were both carried down by the stream. My accontrements put every attempt at swimming out of the question; but, though carried under, I still held by the bridle, and relinquished it only for the tail of my steed; which, turning, struck out for the bank we had left, and which we soon regained. But my horse no sooner reached the firm ground, than, shaking me off, he scampered away, leaving me in as pretty a plight as any lover of adventure could desire. But what was now to be done? It was no consolation whatever for me to think that it might have been at the very spot that the same accident befel the Emperor Commène, on the night that followed the memorable battle of Durazzo; when the imperial army, composed of Greeks and Turks, Circassians and English, was routed and scattered to the winds by the vic-

torious lances of Robert de Guichard and his Normans.

I had escaped from the bogs, I had been snatched from the river, I had run from the dogs and the muskets—which way was I now to turn? Without a horse—unable to walk—without a word of any intelligible language at my disposal, hungry, shivering, and exhausted; drenched from top to toe, my boots filled with water, my ample shalvars and cloak weighing what might have been worth something in gold, and this on the 18th of December! The only thing to be done was to sit down on the bank of the river, and to wait for the 19th. It dawned at length; and, not long afterwards, one of the wandering Vlachs (shepherds) came down to water some cattle, at the spot where I had entered the river, and to which I had returned. I then discovered that what I had taken for a path and a ford, was merely a place for watering and washing the cattle of the village. In the plight in which I was, I would have carefully concealed myself from a Guegue, who might have fancied my shalvars, though neither the shape nor the favourite colour of the country; from a Vlach I had nothing to fear, and, giving him to understand, by dumb-show, and by the state of my vestments, the misfortune which had befallen me during the night, he gave evidence of his comprehension by thrice devoutly crossing himself on the forehead and breast, and uttering a long whistling ejaculation. But, from his calling, it was natural that his first thought should be respecting the wel-

fare of my horse; so, putting out the forefinger of his left hand, and crossing it with two fingers of his right, he began a trotting motion, casting his eye the while from me to the river, and then all along its banks, as if to ask in what part the trotting animal was to be found. I answered, by a galloping motion of the hand and arm, and pointed to the road to Cavalha. He suddenly set to work, like a man who had got a new idea, took my wet cloak, folded it, and threw it on the back of one of his animals, which he led to the side of a bank, and, repeating the foregoing diagram with his fingers, intimated to me an invitation to ride, which he had not twice to give. He also mounted, and, driving his other cattle before him, commenced screeching what they call a song, and left me to follow as I might. I thought, of course, we were going to the village, but we turned off to the left, and in about half an hour reached a small encampment of Vlachs, where, stopping at a door, he shovelled me in, and went on about his business. It was just sunrise, and I found myself in a solitary *tête-à-tête* with an old woman. She stared at me, and waited to be spoken to. I thought it necessary to utter some sounds in the way of speech: she immediately cried, "Whisht," putting her finger to her lips, and, placing a stool near where the fire had been, motioned me to sit down. She then pointed to a bed entirely covered up with a coverlid, which had an air of finery ill suited to the place, and, inclining her head upon her open hand, gave me to understand that some great per-

sonage there reposed, whose existence and slumbers I soon became convinced of by that involuntary music so modestly disavowed by its most successful performers. A blazing and comforting fire was lit in silence, and, while the steam rose all around me from my wet clothes, I was left for a full hour to ruminate on the character of the invisible personage in whose presence I was, when suddenly the bedclothes were thrown off with a jerk, and a figure bolted up to half its height, displaying, under a white wadded nightcap, a dark lank countenance and long black beard, and I perceived that I was the guest of the priest of the Vlach encampment. After the necessary yawns and stretchings, the obsequious handmaiden succeeded in directing his attention to me, when, taking me for a Cavash, he jumped up, came to kiss my hand, and to inquire, in sounds unknown, the purport of my visit. I soon discovered that he spoke Greek. His apprehensions quickly subsided; and after crossing himself, and wondering at my adventure, began to make himself more merry at my expense than I was inclined to be satisfied with. However, a comforter was soon produced, in the shape of a bottle of rakki, which was followed by a breakfast, by no means to be despised, of a hot Indian-corn cake, and fresh-drawn milk. My clothes were hung up to dry; and after that, two good horses were at the door, one for myself, and one for the Papas, who declared he would accompany me back to Durazzo, which I found I had passed six miles. On the way I met some soldiers, who had been

sent in quest of me, my appearance having excited some alarm ; and although my friend the Governor was absent, his Vekil had sent parties out in various directions to look for me,

Durazzo is a place, the importance of which is illustrated by the historical events with which its name is connected. Barlettius, the contemporary historian of Scanderbeg, and who had seen Dyracchium at the closing scene of the drama of Rome, thus describes it :—

" Dyracchium is the most ancient and powerful of the maritime towns of Illyria, fortified by nature, and rendered impregnable by art. He who sails by is struck, on looking on the height of the walls, not only with admiration but with terror, for it is surrounded by rocks and the sea, except where it joins the land. Here is a most safe and commodious port—here are ample and beautiful plains, most fertile soil, and abundance of all things—here are consecrated buildings, august and sumptuous temples — here are to be seen the images of kings and emperors, and the monuments of their ancient princes. The Colossus (Colossus ingens) of Hadrian, of cast metal, stands in a lofty position at the Cavalha Gate. To the west there was, besides, an arena or amphitheatre, constructed with wonderful art and beauty, and walls strengthened and adorned with towers and splendid works : but it is particularly remarkable for its salt-pans and convenience for commerce. This is that Dyracchium which saw the Roman senate, and was no less renowned than unhappy by civil blood and

intestine war; and finally, what the greatness of this city has been—*ipsa ruina docet.*" But the ruins themselves have now ceased to teach.

The present Governor of Durazzo, although he knew not of the past splendour and prosperity of Dyracchium, although ignorant of the traffic here carried on by the Venetians, yet expressed himself respecting it in the following terms:—

"Along our western shore, which looks on Europe, we have not a single safe or convenient harbour; so that the peasantry, through all these districts, have to supply themselves from Monastir with goods, brought sometimes sixty days' mule carriage, from Leipsic, Constantinople, and Salonica. Durazzo only requires a mole to be run out from the horn of the at present exposed bay, to give shelter to large vessels within, and afford them, at the same time, the immense advantage of a mole for lading, which no port in Turkey, save Constantinople, possesses. This place is, besides, the centre of all communication by land; and from twenty to thirty hours, in all directions, the roads are level, and might be easily rendered passable for wagons. I would undertake to drain the marshes, make three roads for that distance, and construct the mole, if I were allowed for five years to retain the customs of the now unfrequented port, and the produce of the scarcely productive salt-pans."

'But,' I observed, 'if your government pursues the course it has commenced to adopt respecting commerce, the mole, if built, would not be much frequented. By your treaties with us, three per

cent. is all you have a right to exact for the entry of foreign merchandise; and in this very port you exact at present five per cent.' "I say," replied the Governor, "the three per cent. is robbery; because our harbours are filled up, our moles ruined, for the support of which alone that per centage is claimed. It is commerce alone that gives *value to our possessions*, and turns our harvests into treasure. If a government affords it not a shelter, a landing-place, nor a road, it certainly has no right to fees or tolls." What would this Mussulman people, called by itself civilised, have said of a government whose *science* resides in impeding commerce, either under the plea of raising revenue, of improving prosperity, or of protecting agriculture?

There was a shipment at the time proceeding of most wretched tobacco, for the supply of the Austrian monopoly of Italy, at the rate of rather more than one halfpenny per pound. It is delivered damp, ill made up, and in the worst possible state; it heats on the passage very often, and has then to be thrown overboard. I was expressing my surprise, that when the peasants were at the trouble of sowing, reaping, and transporting tobacco for so small a sum, they did not expend upon it the additional labour necessary for drying and packing it, which would more than double the value of the article. The Bey answered, (and to this answer I beg particular attention,) 'The care and labour required to cultivate and prepare tobacco well are very great; and how can these peasants expend that labour upon it, when they have to grind their corn, and to *manufacture*

*their clothing, with the rudest machinery?'* He was of opinion, that if England manufactured for the tastes of the people, and if Turkey could venture to abolish the prohibitions on exportation of her own produce, which have been silently and one by one introduced,* England would have the entire supplying of Turkey, and *Turkey would be benefited as much as if one-fourth were added to her population.*

On entering the town, I was stopped upon a narrow causeway by a string of mules laden with bales of Manchester goods and Birmingham wares: goods which figure in our exports to Austria, and which had been brought from Trieste in three vessels, then anchored in the bay, and which were to take back the tobacco to supply the Austrian Appalto of Italy. Such are the links that now bind Italy and Dyracchium. The bales of goods, however, and the ships in the bay, cast into the picture of the place some Western touches, which were multiplied in passing through the streets by the mean figures of European sailors and pettifogging merchants. I felt quite ashamed of the quarter of the world to which I belonged, when

* The exportation from Turkey of all the articles which are staple products of Russia is forbidden by the Turkish Government. They now feel the bearing of this suicidal measure, and did hope, at one time, to obtain the concert and support of England, so as to venture to abrogate it.

While correcting this sheet (July 18th,) I observe, in the correspondence from Constantinople, that in spite, as I must say, of the concert of England with Russia, Turkey has abolished the prohibition of the exportation of grain.—*Note to the First Edition.*

I was told by the captain of the Albanian guard that I would now find myself at home, as there were *compatriots* of mine in the place, and that the Consul was already prepared to receive me. *The* Consul! an Italian Consul at Dyracchium! the descendant, the representative, too, I suppose, of the first Cæsar, who here had entrusted his fortunes to a fishing-boat. Scarcely had this important fact been communicated to me, when the Consul himself was announced; and hardly should I have been more surprised at the apparition of the ghost of the great Consul himself, than I was at the appearance of the representative of the house of Lorraine, vulgarly called Hapsburg, who now stood before me! A red coat and a pair of epaulettes were not enough to shadow forth the dignity of this personage. A cap of purple velvet, embroidered with gold, was displayed in one hand, held carefully by the lining, so as to exhibit without damaging its splendour; while in the other dangled, with the apparent carelessness of an every-day companion, an elegant pouch of crimson and green velvet, similarly embroidered on the seams: containing, no doubt, a specimen of the tobacco of which he was superintending the shipment to the warehouses of his imperial master. These Austrian consular costumes might furnish an appendix to Sibthorpe's "Flora Græca;" no doubt they astonish the natives very much, and give them a high notion of the dignity of the empire; certain it is, the wearers are enchanted with them: and I have known one Austrian Con-

sul, who, after investing himself with the prized insignia, could not, for three successive days and nights, be induced to relinquish one item of his new wardrobe; surpassing the hardihood of the knight of old, who did unbuckle a single spur when inclined to unbend his knighthood.

The dignified person in question soon communicated to me a vast mass of information. He informed me that the Albanians deserved to be all hanged; that the Greeks merited no better fate; that the "poveri Turchi" were much to be pitied between them; that the Grand Vizir had gained no victories, obtained no success; but he gave me to understand that, if *he* had only a few regiments of the Hungarians that were doing no good in Lombardy, he would put all things soon in order.

The Austrian agents, somehow or other, manage always to disgust the people amongst whom they reside,* as the government itself, with all its calmness and judiciousness, is always a decade

* At the time this was written, I had only come in contact with Austrian Consuls of Gothic, and more especially of Italian origin; since then I have had the good fortune to know two or three Austrian Consuls of Sclavonian origin, whom I highly respect, and to whom I feel much indebted. A Sclavonian, if not subject to the Russian Crown, holds in the East a most commanding station, and possesses, without labour, the key of the Russian, the European, and, in some degree, of the Eastern mind; he is, also, invariably acquainted with the French, German, and some Sclavonic dialect, and with the literature of these people. Austria would do well to make more use of this invaluable material when turned to profit, and dangerous to her when mistrusted and cast off.

in arrear of events. While the Austrian government counselled the Porte to that resistance, justifiable no doubt, but untimely with respect to the affair of Greece, which led to the war of 1828 and 1829, an Austrian Consul, to render the Greeks as dissatisfied with Austrian views as the Turks had been with Austrian advice, declared that he "could no longer believe in a Divine Providence after the battle of Navarin!"

However, Austria had another sort of representative at Durazzo in the person of a young man, the agent of a commercial house at Trieste, who spoke fluently Greek, Albanian, Turkish, Bulgarian, and Wallachian; who frequented freely all the fairs of Roumeli, laughed at the alarms of Europeans, and assured me that he had never suffered molestation of any kind, and found in his European character, (combined with a knowledge of the country,) not only protection against the accidents of the times, but immunity from many of the inconveniences which native merchants had to endure. There were one or two other young men who travelled in the same way, and to the connexion thus established between Albania and Trieste was owing the importation into the former from the latter of the English goods, the caravan of which I had met as I entered the town. English colonial produce, re-exported from the free port of Trieste to the coast of Albania, is smuggled into Hungary through Roumeli and Servia. This occurred during those times of trouble which would appear to put an end to all

peaceable intercourse; two years later, I found, at Widdin, coffee that had been transported across the country from Durazzo, in consequence of the tendency at Constantinople to imitate European customs, and to embarrass the operations of commerce.

The facilities, and the freedom enjoyed by the agents of these commercial houses, in the midst of war and revolution, is a valuable illustration of the habits of thought of Eastern countries; because the position of those persons here was not the consequence of any exceptional circumstances, it was merely the consequence of the rare fact of familiarity with the language, without which no useful intercourse of any kind can be practicable;* and if there is one portion of the Ottoman dominions, more than another, where such an intercourse would offer little promise of reciprocal benefit, that portion certainly is Albania.

This circumstance recalled to me the conduct of the French merchants in Egypt. Previously to the expedition of Bonaparte, the Directory left no means untried to pick a quarrel with the Beys, and, on withdrawing their Consul, ordered all the French merchants to retire. Some of them did so, but the major part refused to quit the country, and laughed at the representations of the government agent respecting the dangers to which they

* Heeren, in speaking of Phœnician trade, remarks, that the advantage the Phœnicians enjoyed of transacting business "without the intervention of roguish interpreters, sufficed alone to give them the monopoly of the commerce of the Levant."

would be exposed when the regular protection of the nation should be withdrawn. This not suiting the views of the French Commissioners, and the merchants having expressed their determination of not quitting the country, these latter were denounced to the Egyptian authorities as disobedient subjects, in whom the Republic took no further interest; thus exciting the lawlessness or the avarice which they pretended to dread, and which would have afforded to the French government some pretext for the greatest outrage on public justice which has occurred for centuries: namely, the invasion of Egypt without declaration of war—an outrage unfelt in Europe, because its victims were Turks.* The French merchants, to avoid the persecution of their countrymen, retired up the country to Cairo; and there, unmolested, carried on their traffic up to the period of the invasion.†

When such is the conduct of warring Mamelukes, of rebel Arnaouts, towards unprotected European merchants, it may cease to be a matter of wonder that the Porte respected the rights of the British, on the flight of Mr. Arbuthnot from Constantinople in 1807; or when, at a later period, the inconceivable policy in which we were plunged,

* At the time of writing this, the events of Constantine, of the Texas, the affair of the Vixen, the blockade of the coasts of Mexico, and other occurrences indicating the extinction, in this age, of every sentiment of national honour and international right, had not occurred.

† See "Olivier's Travels.

forced the English Ambassador to abandon to their fate those of his compatriots whom he left behind him.

At Durazzo, for the first time, I heard of Mehemet Ali, as connected with the affairs of Albania. I got into conversation with a man whom I understood to be a Turkish merchant; but our acquaintance having rapidly ripened into confidence, I learnt that he was one of those agents whom the Porte employs, or rather whom influential members of the Divan employ, to collect information. In this capacity he had travelled into Egypt, Arabia, and Bagdad, and was returning to his patron, the Grand Vizir, with an account of these countries. I gathered from him, what I had subsequent opportunities of becoming well acquainted with, the views of Reschid Pasha upon Egypt. I had hitherto looked upon the war of Albania as a finite object. Now the connexion between the state of that country, and the destinies of the whole empire, became practically evident. I perceived that Reschid Pasha looked to drawing large resources both in means and men from subdued Albania, which should be directed to the subjugation of Egypt. He had been defeated in the object next to his heart — the reduction of Greece—by the insubordination of the Albanians, and by their settled resolution not to put an end to a war which, to them, was an unceasing source of pay, plunder, employment, and power; he had now subdued Albania, and therefore could have directed an overwhelming force against Greece;

but European diplomacy had stepped in and closed against him, by an insuperable barrier, this career of greatness and renown. What enterprise then presented itself worthy of the position he had acquired? What field offered itself to occupy that military spirit of the Albanians, which, if not directed now by the Porte, could scarcely be mastered by it, and would probably soon again be directed against it? Egypt was that field; and Mehemet Ali, the rival and the enemy of the Grand Vizir of old, was an antagonist worthy of him. These ideas suggested themselves in consequence of the following answer, which I received from the emissary above mentioned, to the inquiries I made respecting the state of Egypt: "Mehemet Ali," he said, "has done well in every thing that he has created—ships, sailors, arsenals, and soldiers; but the poor are oppressed, and he has neither the hearts of his people, nor the name of the Sultan. His troops and his ships would beat ours, but if our Sadrazem were to appear in Egypt with only 10,000 men, Mehemet Ali's troops and ships would be his, and he would not find a mountain to fly to, and has not a tribe to defend him."

My horizon was thus suddenly extended, not that a great deal of uncertainty did not overhang these lucubrations, but that uncertainty was to be dispelled by a trifling incident which occurred in paying for the horses which were to take me to Scodra—I *received the change in Egyptian coin.* Whence did this money come? The troops mus-

tered against the Grand Vizir by Mustapha Pasha had been partly paid with this money, incurring, of course, a considerable loss in the exchange. Mehemet Ali had then a strong presentiment of the views of the Grand Vizir and of his own danger, and had made this sacrifice, precipitate and lavish as the mode showed it to be, to prevent the subjugation of Albania, and to occupy there the Grand Vizir. I was now, of course, ready to prophesy the affairs of Syria, and the news of the attack of Acre was scarcely a novelty. But, good God! what was English diplomacy about?

Full of these ideas, I wended my way from Durazzo northward along the coast. From Berat, northward, the country may be called champaign. The plains form basins, bounded by low argillaceous hills. The limit of this formation, to the north, is the chains of Leche, Croia, and Gova, bearing N. and W., S. and E., dipping to the E. N. E., and exactly corresponding with the chains of Argyro Castro and Longaria. This limestone formation, described at Argyro Castro, has been broken in fragments, and is scattered over the face of the country, from Scodra down to the Gulf of Lepanto. It is distinct from the central range of the Pindus, against which it sometimes rests: it dips in Middle Albania to the north and east, and in Acarnania to the east. To the north of Argyro Castro, on the back and on the face of these elevations, rests a formation of mixed aluminous shale and slate; some layers are very soft, and decompose readily into clay. Thus, all the valleys and plains, and

even the sides of the hills, are covered with clay. To the north of Leche, where the Drin bursts through the hills, this formation does not accompany the limestone, which here wears the aspect of the uninteresting limestone of the Morea, not being of the fine lithographic grain parallely stratified, and alternating with silex, consequently not forming bold and picturesque escarpments; which appearance (being, in that case, accompanied by the aluminous formation) is indicative of fertility, wood and water. Over this whole tract of country are scattered some other strata, but of no mineralogical or agricultural interest: they are, a sandstone (near Delvino), sand and shale (Glava), breccia and amigdaloid. On an insulated mass of the latter is seated the Castle of Argyro Castro; but nowhere are any traces of organic remains to be found. The appearance of the country, from the loftiest ridges, is that of an ocean, with the waves of the limestone rolling after one another. Towards the west the plains exhibit from below a perfectly levelled surface, from which the hills and mountains, as it were, detach themselves, as islands or coasts springing from the sea. Between the larger ranges, the aluminous formations are cast about in all directions, forming dunes and monticules of most exquisite beauty, insulated in groups, or stretching in straight lines, or forming the first steps to the mountains.

These three days I have been riding or walking along, enjoying the most pleasing and agreeable sensations;—the mildness and softness of the cli-

mate—the scenery of extended plains or bold mountains, "wild, but not rude"—the richest possible soil; forests no longer in their pride and stateliness, but romantic in their mossy and decrepit age, over which the creepers of the clematis, wild vine, eglantine, and bramble, hang like roofing, weighing down their branches, or encircling their broken trunks; the huts of the scanty peasants, made of wicker, as also the reservoirs for the Indian corn, of all sizes and shapes, covered or thatched with the broad and husky leaves of the maize, looked like grotesque baskets, deposited by some giant hand in the open spaces. Here is to be found every element for a new settlement: vicinity to Europe—facility for the construction of roads—marshes, indeed, and ague, there are, but those could easily be drained, and these would disappear, while the discharges would serve for harbours for the small coasting craft—fertility that cannot be surpassed—a climate for every richest produce, where a long torpid winter consumes not the produce of the summer; now, in December, every field was verdant. Oak for use—platani for shade—game for luxury—wild vines for grafting, but withal large spaces cleared, and now serving for pasturage—excellent breeds of sheep and horses, and an immediate demand on the spot—wicker and rushes for domestic uses, and, if stones are distant, everywhere excellent clay for bricks, tiles, and vessels. This district, unlike the relics of Ali Pasha's satrapy, has not suffered from the ten years' anarchy that followed

his fall. Here Turks and Christians wear arms, and are more equally balanced: it is at present a waste, from long innate barbarism and Illyrian dulness. The servility of the Greek, the lawlessness of the Albanian—differences owing to their castes—are redeemed by an extraordinary intelligence and acuteness. But when you have crossed the Beratino—Guegues, Merdites, Greeks, Latins, and Turks, without the excesses, without the anarchy or hate of the former, are pervaded by an absorbing spirit of stupidity and barbarism, which the traveller feels in every house he enters, every shepherd he questions, every transaction, great or small, that brings him unwillingly in contact with them. The traveller, I say; but when, heretofore, has a traveller ventured his "*plachica*" (baggage *or* plunder) or his neck, amid these lawless tribes? They tell me of one twenty-four years ago. However, send off Ibrahim Bey of Cavalha and all his race, and a few other chiefs; disarm them, and they will make good beasts of burden: they are at present terror-stricken, and this is the first step. The name of the Grand Vizir is a talisman; but he is sadly deficient in men capable of making that talisman efficacious for good. If it is his fate to live for five or six years, and if the good stars of this land preserve him in the same mind till the youth are somewhat formed, this country is regenerated. His life would be long, if the prayers of the Rayah avail. In one place they said to me, "May God take five years from each of our lives to add to his!" May

he merit the holy aspiration, re-echoed as it is, whenever the local governor understands his views and effects his purposes, *but only then.*

Dec. 24th.—Here am I, at length, at Scodra. Now, like Sterne at Calais, I can assure myself that no future event whatever can prevent me from having been here. When I look at the map, and run over Argyro Castro, Delvino, Tepedelene, Berat, Scodra, I can scarcely congratulate myself enough on having visited these spots I have so often traced on the same map with so much longing, but so little hope to visit.

## CHAPTER XXI.

### SCODRA.

It is only one who has mingled in the events of the Greek and Albanian wars, who can understand the feelings with which I found myself in Scodra. There, in a fortress supposed impregnable, guarded round by impassable mountains, resided, on the very limits of the Turkish world, a chief whose character was involved in mystery, but whose power was indisputable, and whose election seemed decisive of the various struggles which agitated the country to the south.

The Pasha of Scodra was claimed by all parties in turn as their ally, and by all parties was he dreaded. The Greeks never wearied in their relations of the devastation which had marked the track of his crimsoned Guegues and his black Mirdites; yet they admitted that, under his mild and paternal sway, the Christian was equal with the Turk; and, indeed, Christians had formed the bulk of the army which had followed his standard to Greece. The Albanians considered him as the chief and head of their race, as the most potent chieftain of Turkey, and whose family, for two hundred years, had

maintained their sovereignty in defiance of the Sultan. Yet he had marched into Greece with a view of effecting this purpose of the Sultan, and would have done so but for the treachery of the Albanians, who sacrificed his army. These wrongs, and the willing, though very inefficient, support which he had given to the Grand Vizir in his first operations against Albania, justified the assertions of the Turk that he was their ally; that it was in his power to render triumphant the party he espoused, was evident from the strength he put forth, and which he used so ill, after the Grand Vizir had triumphed, first over Aslan Bey, and, secondly over Selictar Poda. It was said, when Mustafa Pasha mustered his followers, every gun fired from the battlements of Scodra was a signal for a hundred men to gather under his standard; and the bards of Albania told how seven hundred signal guns of his grandfather, Gelaldin Pasha, had collected seven hundred times a hundred followers, whose devotion had saved their chief from the Grand Vizir of the Sultan, and their country from the devastating incursions of the Bosniacs and Servians.

As I looked on the ruined towers of this rebel chief, little did I anticipate the feelings of esteem and regard which I should one day entertain for his amiable character and refined mind. It would be curious to contrast my impressions respecting him at that time with a recent period, when, after a long absence, he met me with fraternal greeting, and led me into his library to see an excellent assort-

ment of French books, which he said he had placed there to overcome his natural indolence of disposition, and to spur him to the study of the French language, by the sight of the treasures he possessed, and could not use.*

But associated with the fortress of Scodra were other remembrances scarcely less interesting, illustrated, as it had been, by the heroism of a Loridano, and by the frustration of the military genius, and the discomfiture of the martial pomp and power of the conquering Mahomet.

In approaching Scodra from the south, both the town and the lake are hidden by the ridge, the summit of which is crowned by the castle. There is a suburb, however, to the south, called "The Gardens," where a few of the most respectable houses are situated, scattered amongst gardens, and overshadowed by a grove of fruit-trees and stately chesnuts. In the skirts of this suburb were the breaching-batteries, and, between them and the base of the hill, a small plain of four or five hundred yards, encircled by a bend of the river Drino. Reschid Pasha's quarters were unremoved from this suburb, where they had been established previous to the surrender of the castle. The town, lying below the castle on the other side, between

* Mustafa Pasha had opened at Scodra his valuable library to the public; any one could borrow books, leaving a receipt for them. Before abandoning his pashalic, he constituted this library Vacouf, that it might be consecrated to the same purpose. When, subsequently, the Sultan offered him a pashalic in Asia, he replied, that he would rather have the command of a printing press.

it and the lake, was afflicted by the cholera, so that the principal persons were lodged in the few houses that still remained erect, and roofed, in the suburb of "The Gardens." The Grand Vizir would not suffer me to go into the town, but ordered me to be received in the house of the Mollah or Imaum, which had not been occupied by any of the pashas or officers, out of respect to the character of its possessor; and here I was served from the Vizir's kitchen.

I was all anxiety to find some of my old friends. While my baggage was depositing and a room preparing for me by the active hospitality of the Imaum, I wandered into the garden. The indiscriminating shots of Mustafa Pasha having opened free passage into the neighbouring enclosure, I ventured through, and, coming upon an old dilapidated hovel, on which several shots had done their worst, I perceived, to my infinite surprise and delight, looking through a small window, my old friend, Gench Aga, whose timely escort had saved me from the hands of the bandits on the Pindus, and who had been the higher agent in the tragic plot which had concluded with the common destruction of Veli and Aslan Bey. The old man's surprise surpassed, as may well be supposed, my own. He came running down the ladder, which served him for stairs, took me in his arms, kissed me on the forehead, poured out a thousand inquiries, without giving me time to answer one, and during my stay at Scodra his time was almost

entirely spent as my guest at the Imaum's abode, for which he was glad to exchange his own miserable quarters, and not more attractive fare; and yet he was no less a man than Tufenkji Bashi of the Grand Vizir, and Deputy Governor of Thessaly.

I staid but ten days at Scodra; but a couple of volumes would scarcely suffice to detail all the interest of that sojourn. Here were assembled the chief men of the party of the Grand Vizir, the relics of the different factions subdued by him; men of distinction from every part of Roumeli, and also from Anatoli, and all these collected in thirty or forty houses, standing close to each other, where, from morning to night, we were constantly mingling; and where my position was so very different from that in which a traveller from the West is usually placed, mistrusted, without the means of direct communication, without sufficient knowledge to interest them in discussion, and therefore unheeded and unknown. If now, for the first time, I had landed in the East, or if, in travelling through it, I had not mingled in their wars and dangers, I should have found myself in the midst of a scene most interesting, indeed, to the eyes, but where I should have been absolutely interdicted from all intercourse of thought. As it was, how different was my position! Wherever I went to pay a visit, the house was immediately crowded; when I returned home, I found visiters waiting me; when I proposed an excursion, companions presented themselves. The young Beys were full

of the adventures of the late wars, replete with interest and diversity. The soberer minds looked to the political changes to be effected in the policy or the administration of the empire; and, as if these subjects did not suffice, we had the position and the character of the populations of the Pashalic of Scodra, of the Bosnians, Montenegrins, and Servians, supplied by people from those countries, or governors who had resided there. But two paramount feelings cast a tint over all their opinions; and whatever subject was commenced, to one or other of these did the conversation revert. The one — the political regeneration of Turkey — which was dwelt on with an enthusiasm really affecting in the midst of a camp, and in the hour of victory. The other — England. How often in a whisper, and under promise of secrecy, have I been questioned with regard to the expense of going to England! The interest thus excited about England might certainly have had its immediately exciting cause in my previous visit to the country, and the habit into which they had got of talking about Englishmen, and now by this second visit. But of this I am certain, that a native of any other European country, whatever the consideration in which he might have been held, would never have had the pride and satisfaction of seeing those feelings turn from himself to his country. Austria and France are the only two nations which, of course, could enter into competition with us in point of influence and

consideration. Now Austria inspires no Eastern population with respect. France formerly enjoyed paramount influence* throughout the whole of the East. The invasion of Egypt as a fact, but far more the mode of that invasion — a buccaneer expedition, destitute of the forms consecrated by the invariable practice of mankind — has left a stain on the character and the honour of France, which centuries will not efface from the memory of the East. The common epithet, "Kandgik Fransiz," dates from this event.

These feelings were now revived by the connexion of France with Mehemet Ali, and by the occupation of Algiers, which they consider no less an outrage on the rights of nations than the former expedition to Egypt, while it possessed characters of a baser description, in the robbery of the public treasury, the violation of private property, and the religious fanaticism which they conceived to be the motive for acts of another description, which brought no advantage to the victors. All the details of the expedition, and the subsequent conduct of the French, were repeated from mouth to mouth, and public indignation was excited throughout the empire by the emigrants from Algiers. They contrasted our conduct with that of France formerly in

* Before Napoleon, Louis XIV. was the only European sovereign that so far valued the opinion of the East as to seek to make himself respected among them. He had a history of his wars translated into Arabic. The alliance of Francis I. with Suleyman was merely political and diplomatic.

Egypt, and more recently in Algiers.* The first it was that gave to the East an idea of the power of England; the latter it is which has established her character for integrity and justice. "You had a right," they said, "to attack Algiers, because of the piracies which she committed; in four hours you levelled its battlements with the ground; and, having extirpated the evil, you sought neither to acquire that which was not your own, nor to injure those you had vanquished."

With respect to our immediate policy as regards Turkey, contemptible as it has been, it has never exhibited either duplicity or design.† Discussing the subject with Turks, it is easy to bring them to see that the fault lies at their door more than at ours. They were ready to admit that their haughty manners towards us personally had hitherto prevented our travellers and residents from receiving accurate ideas, and impressed them with feelings of ill-will, while they had taken no pains to open direct communications with us; and, consequently, in these European complications, where they were unrepresented both in the presence of public opinion and diplomacy, they appeared as an accused man before his judges, who condemn him, on the testimony of his adversary, because he holds his tongue.

Such were the subjects of daily discussion which presented themselves in a thousand new forms, and of which the record can be but faint and unsatis-

* Also the occupation of Dalmatia by Napoleon.

† This, it must be recollected, was only at the commencement of 1832.

factory. I will conclude this chapter with the opinions of a Turk on the press.

Talking with Negib Bey, whom I had formerly known at Larissa, on the different changes that had taken place since we had parted, we came to the Turkish newspaper, on the advantages of which he summed up thus:—

"It lets us know the price of corn and several other things, and this is an inestimable benefit; it lets us know the quantities furnished by the different commissariats. Young soldiers are excited, by seeing those that distinguish themselves having their names recorded in print, and read by every high functionary in the empire; and who would expose himself to be branded with infamy before such a company? In Turkey, we all know well enough what is right, though we very seldom do it; and we will be all improved by reading the good deeds of others. It is very true, we might find examples among our forefathers, but present example is warmer.

"The learned Alwakidi tells us, that he who is acquainted with former events raises his mind, and prolongs his existence; but how many are there amongst us, that know perfectly the history of Omer and Osman, and know not that of Machmoud: while we extend existence backward, it would be more useful to extend it to the present time, and to understand something of the age in which we live, as well as of the age of our great-great-grandfathers. Here (in the newspaper) we have information about Frangistan, about the Jeni

Dunia (America,) which is very useful. If my neighbour gets more corn from his land than I do, I would be a fool not to go and sit at his chiftlik and learn something. When we see your ships, your guns, the cloth you wear, (passing his hand over my coat,) and hear and feel the effects of your power, should we not wish to know how all this is come to you; for are we not all men alike, and have all one friend in Allah, and one foe in Shaitan? Now, this paper will instruct us about these things, and those that can read it will explain it to others, and will be justly proud of their instruction; while the man that cannot read, and thinks his pistol better than his pen, will be considered, as he is, no better than a brute. When this happily takes place, other books besides this will be as cheap by the *basma,** so that they may be as common."

"We will know what men ought to know, and by becoming a wiser, we will be a happier people. How many men, that sit idle all the day, either cannot read, or cannot afford books, or if they can afford them, cannot get any to buy, or not such as please them! It is with books as with friends; a man who has seen the world will choose a good friend, and no man who can have the company of wise and pleasant men will sit by himself. Books are the friendly parts of the souls of all the wise men that have ever lived; their tongues are cold, but their thoughts live and are multiplied; and

* *Basma*, print, is applied equally to paper and cotton.

when we have these within every man's reach, the whole people will have gained wise counsellors and pleasant companions, and what it is now an honour to know, it will then be a disgrace not to know."

## CHAPTER XXII.

MILITARY MOVEMENTS—DEFEAT OF THE PASHA OF SCODRA.

I MUST now narrate the circumstance of the struggle which ended by the fall of Scodra.

During the last Russian campaign, the Pasha of Scodra was led by Diebitch to believe that the Russians marching to Constantinople, he would remain independent Prince of his own province, with accessions of territory and influence, if not authority, over the Beys of Albania; and the Russians were suffered to pass the Balcan unmolested. Finding, at the treaty of Adrianople, that they had been deceived, Mustafa Pasha saw, when too late, the error he durst not avow; and it required the intervention of the Porte to prevent his falling on the Russians subsequently to the conclusion of the treaty. The compromised chiefs then perceived that their only chance of escape from the slow but sure vengeance of the Porte was a united effort against it, under cloak of a difference with the Grand Vizir. The Pasha of Bagdad was joined

in this league, so that the empire was at once threatened from the north, west, the east, and the south. Mahomed Ali contributed towards the rising of Albania, the sacs of Egyptian coin; some of which I had received in change at Durazzo.

After allowing the Albanians to be singly overpowered, after having even assisted in their destruction, Mustafa Pasha roused himself from his lethargy, and marched, at the head of thirty thousand Guegues, against the Grand Vizir, who was awaiting, at Monastir, the return of his troops from the south, to concentrate and direct his efforts against Scodra.

Monastir, or Bitolia, is the long-established seat of the chief Governor of Turkey in Europe, the centre of all the communications of Roumeli. It commands, with Ochrida and the surrounding Dervends, the lofty ridges, and the stronger passes of the chains which here bisect each other. This was the position chosen by Mehemet Rechid, the Grand Vizir, for his head-quarters, menacing Illyria and the Pasha of Scodra to the north, Epirus and the Albanians to the south; and hence, without risking his person among these intricate passes, he could act on the turbulent and jealous confederacy of his Albanian antagonists, while he secured a place of retreat in case of disaster; while he overawed the disaffected of Macedonia, and kept open the communications with Constantinople, he kept in countenance the Pasha of Scodra, whom, by the possession of the Castle of Berat, he cut off from the Albanians; or, in the event of his march-

ing to their assistance, he could secure himself in the adjoining fortresses of Ochrida Castoria and Geortcha, and in the mountains to the south of the Tomarus. The position, therefore, of Monastir was all-important, and it will be readily supposed that every effort was made to strengthen and provision it.

At the moment of Mustafa Pasha's expedition, the affairs of the Grand Vizir were as follows:—About eight thousand men (regulars) were in Chamouria, completing its subjugation; about as many more were employed in garrisoning the different fortresses occupying the Dervends, and securing the communications from Janina to Berat, from Berat to Iscup, and from Iscup to Salonica. The whole district contained within this pentagon might be considered hostile country: he was himself at head-quarters, reduced to, at the very utmost, five thousand regulars, (though disciplined they could not be called,) and about fifteen hundred Albanians, whose fidelity could not but be doubtful. With this handful of men he had to garrison the neighbouring fortresses, and to overawe the inhabitants of Monastir itself; which, without any fortification, contained an armed population that outnumbered this reserve, and who but awaited the march of Mustafa Pasha to rise upon him. Add to these disheartening circumstances want of provisions, deficiency of ammunition, and, at the most eventful juncture of all, a military chief without a single para. In this situation, the alarming intelligence of the march of

Mustafa was almost immediately followed by that of his occupation of Perlipe, a town distant eight hours only from Monastir. Had he pushed on to Monastir, the secret confederates of the insurgents would have declared for them throughout Roumeli; perhaps in Asia, Daoud Pasha of Bagdat, and Mehemet Ali Pasha, would have seized the moment for action, and universal anarchy might have led to final dismemberment; but Mustafa Pasha, astonished at the facility of his first operation—totally deficient in military capacity, as in personal activity —deemed three days but a short respite from his fatigues, to enjoy his young conquering honours: these three days, devoted to festivity and the bath, were far dfferently employed by the genius of his antagonist. Mehemet Rechid Pasha assembled a divan of the Monastir Beys, and delivered an address to them, which, as described to me by one of those present, " combined a prophet's truth, a martyr's firmness, with a woman's persuasion." He said to them, " I appeal neither to your allegiance as subjects, nor to your faith as Mussulmans; I can hold out neither rewards to the obedient, nor threats to the refractory. I have called you together, not to tell you what you ought to do, but to know from you what you intend to do. As a private man amongst private men, I will tell you the state in which the empire is, and, as your determination shall be, I shall conquer or fall with you in a last effort, or I will quietly go my way, not uselessly waste our own and our fellow-creatures' blood." He concluded as follows :—" It is but a very few months

since you allowed Russia to inflict an almost incurable wound on the empire, and an indelible stain on the Ottoman name. And how were you repaid? She despised you too much, to prolong the deception a moment beyond the completion of her immediate purpose. The man must be a fool, who does not see that Russia excites our mutual dissensions but for our common destruction: he amongst you must be mad, who does not see that, as chiefs of your race, all you possess will be lost by anarchy. The election you have to make, make it freely, but don't deceive yourselves;—it is not between me and the Pasha of Scodra—it is between Turkey and Russia. If for the latter, there is no time for protestations: tell me at once, and within this hour, Shall the triumph of Mustafa Pasha and anarchy be complete? My horses are ready, and with those who are resolved to follow my fortunes, I shall soon be on the road to Constantinople." The dignity, the eloquence of the man, the memory and compunctions of the last campaign, the exposition of the pending crisis, filled the assembly with one spirit: a burst of enthusiasm interrupted his address; they fell at his feet, embraced his knees, called him their saviour and their father; conjured him not to abandon them; and declared their eagerness to shed the last drop of their blood in his defence.

He next assembled the Greek Primates. With them few words were necessary: in the impending prospect of anarchy from the success of the insurgents, all vague and distant thoughts of Russian protection were completely absorbed; besides, new

hopes had begun to dawn for them, and the even-handed justice of the Grand Vizir had already secured their affection and devotion. He merely said, "Scodra Pasha is at Perlipe, and my chest is empty." Few in number, and exhausted by ten years of warfare, little assistance was to be expected from them; but a crowning effort was now to be made, and it was nobly made; the women collected their remaining ornaments; the children cut from their hair and caps the gold coin that adorned them, and in a short time 250,000 piastres were collected, and presented to the Grand Vizir, of which he only accepted 100,000, six mules, with treasure, having just arrived at Constantinople. This sum was punctually repaid; and 80,000 piastres were presented to them subsequently, toward the building of their church. The Grand Vizir had only now to assume a bold countenance. Several guns were dragged up an eminence that commands the town; and he declared that he should lay it in ashes on the slightest movement of the inhabitants. The third day after the arrival of Mustafa at Perlipe, and the eve of his intended march on Monastir, the Vizir ordered the whole of his troops for a grand review. They proceeded from plain to plain, forming, defiling; but the Vizir still continued to advance until sunset, when he established himself on the bank of a rivulet eight miles from Monastir. The chiefs and soldiers now crowded round him, to know what was to be done, and to inquire where the review (atesh talim) was to take place. He calmly answered, "My children, I will review you

at Perlipe." Such was the confidence inspired into his followers by the firmness and talents of this extraordinary man, that the intimation of a struggle so disproportionate, and which left no alternative between victory and destruction, was received with a shout of exultation; and, strange to say, not a man was found to carry the news of his approach to Perlipe.

After two hours' rest, they were again in motion; and at dawn they were before Perlipe. The Pashas were in the bath, where they had passed the night; the troops were scattered through the town. The news of the approach of the Grand Vizir spread from street to street, like the news of a conflagration. They hastily quitted the town, and on the outside collected, in presence of the handful of regulars. The Grand Vizir immediately remarked the importance of some broken and stony ground on his right, within musket-range of the wings of both armies. He despatched his Albanians, above 1000, to occupy it, supported by a regiment, to insure their fidelity. The Guegues of Mustafa allowed them quietly to occupy their ground, waving their handkerchiefs in token of friendship. But no sooner had the Albanians opened their fire, than the Guegues, exasperated at the advantage they had suffered their enemy to take, made a tumultuous rush towards the eminence occupied by the Albanians. A regiment (tambour) rapidly advanced from the front of the Grand Vizir. The Guegues, throwing away their discharged muskets, now turned towards their

new antagonists with brandished yatagans and loud yells. The regulars, with astonishing firmness, halted, reserved their fire, and received the charge with a close and deadly discharge. For a moment the Guegues stood still—their shouts were silenced; they then precipitately retreated to the main body. Two partial charges were subsequently made, and similarly received by this single regiment; and then might be seen the crimson robes and glittering arms of this vast horde scattered over the plain to the north, in full retreat. But so weak in numbers were the victors—so essential to their preservation, amid their routed foes, was their order and compactness — that the Grand Vizir had to restrain the ardour of his men, and break off a pursuit which, if continued to the passes of Baboussa, might have irrevocably dispersed the insurgent gathering.

In these strong defiles (Baboussa) the Guegues halted, and immediately commenced to fortify themselves. The Grand Vizir had gained a victory, but his position was not less precarious than before; difficulties and dangers multiplied around him; delay must be followed by a general insurrection; and an attack on Mustafa Pasha, with such odds of numbers and position, he deemed a perfectly desperate alternative; but it was the only one.

Ten days after this brilliant affair, he led his troops, flushed with their former easy success, and full of contempt for their adversaries, to the foot of the hill and gorge occupied by the Guegues. A bold but ineffectual attack was made: new troops

succeeded to the first with no better success; the confidence of the regulars was gone; many had fallen, and the slightest demonstration of the enemy would have struck them with panic. The Grand Vizir gave up all for lost, raved in despair, and tore his beard. A monastery overhanging the pass had principally caused the failure of the assailants. A Greek captain, from Chamouni, offered, with 300 Christians, to carry it, or perish in the attempt. The offer was joyfully accepted; and the small band, fetching a circuit to the left, were soon seen scaling the rocks above the monastery. Cheered by the shouts from below, they forced the monastery from above; while, at the same moment, the regulars made a general and desperate charge. Reserving their fire till they reached the summit, they knelt on the breastwork, and poured it, with dreadful effect, into the crowded tambour. A scene of carnage, frightful but short, ensued. Hemmed in by the narrow gorge, retreat cut off by the masses behind, and the difficulty of the ground, they threw away their arms, and unresistingly submitted to their fate. Here the victors halted: their ranks had been thinned by a victory which had cost them more blood than it had cost the vanquished; indeed, they scarcely yet could believe the day their own, and commenced preparations for defence. Some time afterwards, seeing nothing of the enemy, a body was sent to reconnoitre their camp, and found it deserted.

The incapacity and inactivity of the rebel chief

had already disgusted many of his followers. During this last affair, he had remained, several miles in the rear of his troops, at a Khan, where he had pitched a splendid tent, taken by his grandfather from a Vizir sent against Scodra. The tent had formerly belonged to the Sultan. When at length convinced that all was lost by the revilings of the fugitive Pashas—for six Pashas had espoused his cause,—he set fire to his tent, mounted his horse, and returned, quietly to shut himself up in one of the bomb-proof dungeons of his castle.

The Grand Vizir pushed on to Kiupreli, to gratify his troops with its plunder. It was deserted by the male Turkish inhabitants; but the women had ventured to remain, trusting to the sanctity of the harem. The Cadi also had remained, trusting to that of his office: those talismans had now lost their charm. The women—a sacrilege hitherto unheard of—were dragged from their retreats, and the mutilated body of the Cadi was thrown into the streets; affording another proof, in these unbridled moments, of the breaking up of the old barriers that contained and directed Turkish opinion. The Governor of Kiupreli, fearing a reckoning with the Grand Vizir, took poison.

In concluding this rapid sketch of the last effort of Albania, I have no common satisfaction in having to record the following noble trait.

The Chamouriote captain, whose gallant conduct I have mentioned, in the abandonment of Kiupreli to plunder, requested, as sole recompense for his services, the preservation of a neighbouring

Greek village from the same doom. His request was granted, and he established himself in it with his men, while the rest of the troops were busied in collecting booty; and, in defending it from his fellow-soldiers, lost more men than he had lost in capturing the monastery.

Encouraged by success, the Grand Vizir seems to have imagined the subjugation of Bosnia as a result of his Albanian triumph, rather than a new and distinct enterprise; so, scarcely allowing his troops breathing time, and even before Scodra was invested, he led them to Iscup, from thence to commence operations against Bosnia. The advanced guard, under Chor Ibrahim and Hadji Achmet Pashas, had penetrated into the defiles beyond Batac; and, with the main body, he followed them close. The plan of the Bosnians was to allow him to engage himself amongst the mountains, retiring before him, and then to occupy the passes in his rear—notably, "the stone of Cachanic," fatal to Murad II.; then surround and starve, or cut him off in detail. Want of combination frustrated this scheme, into which the Grand Vizir threw himself with headlong impetuosity. Before the "stone" was occupied, the vanguard was attached and dispersed; seven guns were taken. The fugitives awoke even then the Grand Vizir with difficulty to a sense of his error and his danger; but, with his ordinary good fortune, by a precipitate flight he passed the defile before it was occupied, and reached Iscup, unattended and in the night, before

the news of his disaster; which, in all probability, would have closed its gates against him.

The Grand Vizir now concentrated his forces against Scodra, and besieged it in form. Mustafa Pasha, seeing his resources annihilated, and his expectations disappointed, opened communications with the Sultan, revealed the treasonable projects of Mehemet Ali Pasha, and offered to open the gates of his castle to Achmet Pasha, the private secretary of the Sultan, if he were sent to Scodra; and this surrender was accordingly made, about the period of my landing in Albania. Mustafa Pasha accompanied Achmet Pasha to Constantinople, was pardoned, and subsequently received into favour.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

RECHID MEHEMET PASHA—SADRAZEM.

To describe the person or the character of the Grand Vizir, Rechid Mehemet Pasha, is no easy task. I shall commence with a few incidents of his life.

He is by birth a Christian, the son of a Georgian priest. In his infancy, he became a slave of Hussef Pasha, the octogenarian Seraskier. At an early period he embraced Islamism; his fiery spirit not brooking the exclusion from the higher career of arms and power. The relationship which I have to express by the words "slave" and "master" is perfectly distinct from that which such would suggest to a Western reader. The youthful foreigner from Circassia, Georgia, Yemen, or Abyssinia, purchased into the Turkish family, has no more menial offices to perform than the children of the house: he receives the same education that they do. The Beiram sees him clothed in a new dress, as gay and gaudy as theirs; and the deference and attentions which the little, so termed "slave," is taught to pay, from his tenderer years, to his play-

mates and his masters, is scarcely greater than the younger of these has to pay to his elder. The slave thus becomes the brother of his master's children,—the husband, perchance, of his daughter,—and, not unfrequently, the support of his decaying years, and the prop of his house. His slaves are invariably conducive to the success of every man who walks the higher career of honours and distinction. They are selected with care—promoted after trial. They increase the numbers of his family; while, as devoted to their chief, and as intimately connected in interest as a son, they offer greater docility and pliability of disposition, and may be displaced in case of incapacity or error.

The Seraskier Pasha, to whom the Sultan himself applies the name of father, was originally a Christian and a Georgian slave; and now the highest dignitaries of the Empire, Halil Pasha for instance, and Said Pasha, the sons-in-law of the Sultan, have been slaves of the Seraskier.

There was nothing, therefore, in the designation of slave, then applied to the young, brave, and handsome Rechid Mehemet, which barred his approach to the highest dignities to which his youthful imagination might aspire; nothing degrading to that consciousness of superiority of powers of mind and body which is of little avail, if the oracular lispings of future greatness are silenced in their pregnant promptings by the sullen conviction of the impossibility of attainment. No such desponding hopelessness checks the young conceptions, not of the son of the Turkish freeman,

but of the Turkish slave. The consciousness of no impassable line or inaccessible elevation causes the prophetic fondness of the mother's vows to falter on her tongue.

Rechid Mehemet in the year 1820 had attained the rank of Pasha, and had been named Vali, or Governor of Bolu; and, under the orders of Ismail Pasha, carried his contingent to the siege of Ali Tepedeleni at Yanina. Subsequently to the fall of that chief, he was promoted to the Pashalik of Kutayah, where it fell to his lot to put in execution the final decree of the Sultan against Veli Pasha, the son of Ali, and his family. Veli Pasha was executed; but a timely intimation having been conveyed to his two fine boys, they took refuge in the harem of Rechid Pasha, who thus, from executioner, became their protector.

After the extirpation of the Pasha of Dama and his army, on the shores of the Gulf of Lepanto, Rechid Mehemet Pasha was called to the command of the war in Greece; and then commenced that long interchange of wrong and treachery between him and the Albanians. To him, however, surrendered Missolonghi; to him surrendered Athens; and to him was owing the salvation of the retiring garrison. When the Greeks, after evacuating the citadel, were approaching the Piræus to embark, a body of unruly Chaldoups showed manifest signs of an intention to make a dash at them, when Rechid Mehemet Pasha struck his stirrups into his charger's side, and, cutting across the path of the advancing horde, levelled the foremost with his pistol, and the

second with his sabre. On this very spot, two years afterwards, three hundred Turks, marching forth under safe conduct from the cannonaded convent of the Piræus, were suddenly fallen upon and massacred by the Greeks. Rechid Pasha thus has figured in the histories of Greece under three different names — Rechid Mehemet Pasha, Kutayah Pasha, and Seraskier Pasha, or commander-in-chief.

After the battle of Navarin, the Porte, aroused at once by exasperation and alarm, thought again on Rechid Pasha: he received the rank of Roumeli Valessi, or superior governor of Southern European Turkey, with the joint object of bringing the strength of the remainder of Roumeli to bear upon Albania, and of compelling the Albanians to a last effort to re-occupy that portion of continental Greece which had been occupied by the Greeks about the period of the battle of Navarin, and the decision respecting which by the conference of London was still uncertain.

All his efforts, however, proved fruitless. The hostility of the Albanians had now become loud and universal. They were exasperated by the emancipation of Greece, and they despised the Sultan, whose authority throughout the whole of European Turkey was next to annihilated by the hostility of the great powers of Europe, added to the lowering signs of another storm about to burst from the north. There were no elements of any kind to work upon; there were no chords to touch, no means of producing effect, and every door to action closed. He totally

failed in establishing order, was unable to move a single Albanian against Greece; and, bearded and insulted by the Albanians, he was obliged, as I have already stated, to make his escape by night in a fishing-boat from Prevesa. These circumstances overshadowed his fame, and rose up between him and the memory of his brilliant services. He was removed from his government, deprived of his rank, and consigned to unwilling repose and obscurity in a palace on the Bosphorus, till the battle of Kouleftdja disturbed the dreams of Ramis Tchiftlik with visions of Cossack lances and Baskir Pulks, and Rechid Pasha was called to the *Mabeyn*,* to receive, from the hands of his old master, the Seraskier Pasha, the Sable and the Balta, and was the last Grand Vizir to issue from the "Gates of bliss," preceded by the Tartar horse-tails.

His rashness now completed the catastrophe which the incapacity of his predecessor had well nigh rendered inevitable; and the passage of the Balkan and the treaty of Adrianople, events most unaccountable and bewildering to those who were most closely connected with them, ceased to be considered amongst the ordinary events of humanity, or to bring responsibility and retribution on those who might have prevented their occurrence. Rechid Pasha's favour now grew in the common disaster, and strengthened in the downfal of older reputations. His old office of Roumeli Valessi was added to that of Grand Vizir; to that was annexed

* A term nearly synonymous with "The Court."

the charge of Dervend Pasha, or inspector of the defiles, which gave him the immediate command of the Greek Armatoles, together with the nomination to the Pashaliks of Yanina, Larissa, and some small Eyalets to the north, so that his followers and adherents might bask in his favour, and strengthen him in their strength.

How Rechid Pasha justified these anticipations, how he restored this loan of power, we have already seen; and I now must introduce him personally to the reader.

It was early in the day when I arrived at Scodra. The Grand Vizir was busy, and could not receive me; but, after dinner, at twelve o'clock, he sent to tell me that, as I had arrived too late to see the capture of the castle, he intended to show me that evening how it had been taken. The troops were collected from the surrounding positions; and about three o'clock I was invited to join an old friend, Mahmoud Hamdi Pasha, formerly of Larissa, and now newly appointed Pasha of Scodra. We proceeded to a knoll overlooking the little plain in front of the hill, on which the castle was situated, where two or three regiments and some artillery were drawn up; while the lengthened battlements of the castle displayed a line of soldiers with their bayonets glittering in the sun, and we perceived the sponges and rammers of the guns in active employment. Presently the Grand Vizir came dashing into the little plain below, mounted on his white Persian charger, and accompanied by a gay and brilliant throng. He rode up to the edge of the

water, on the opposite bank of which Mahmoud Pasha and I were seated on a carpet. His sabre was naked in his hand; and, after greeting us, he wheeled round, galloped from corps to corps, amidst a general discharge from the castle and artillery below, and set them all in motion; and, to my untutored eye, the celerity and compactness of the movements—the order and precision of the evolutions, were worthy of the heroes of Perlipe and the Derbend. The Grand Vizir rode about the field, directing every movement himself, and seemed to exult no less in the action of his steed than in the discipline of his troops. Several parties successively scaled the rocks, and reached the foot of the castle, and of course were successively repulsed; and finally, the whole body, forming on the bank of the stream which sweeps around the little plain, dashed into the water, and were soon scrambling up every portion of the opposite hill. But the Grand Vizir was far ahead of them: his snow-white steed was seen bounding from rock to rock; and, as alone he reached the battlement, the guardians vanished from the walls, the blood-red flag displayed its heavy fold from the highest tower, and a peal from above and below, the music and effect of which was heightened by the whizzing and the whirling of the shot, proclaimed anew the fall of the bulwark of Albania.

I hope the curiosity of the reader will not suffer a severe disappointment, if I decline to take him with me to the *Divan-hané* and *Selamlik* of the Grand Vizir. Suffice it to say, that I found him

full of exultation in this hour of triumph, but his spirit of adventure nothing quenched, and looking to the successes obtained merely as furnishing the means of wiping away the stains which the war of Greece and the passage of the Balcan had left on his reputation, and of repairing the misfortunes which they had brought on the empire. His first object was, of course, the subjugation of Bosnia, which already was half effected, and presented little difficulty and danger. Then would it have been easy to reduce Greece again under the Turkish yoke; and the curb placed upon his ambition by European diplomacy was far from appearing to him at that moment a check which might not be removed, or a barrier which could not be overcome.

That enterprise, however, being set aside, another presented itself, of much greater importance—the reduction of Mehemet Ali. The attractions of such an enterprise were incalculable for a mind like that of the Grand Vizir, burning with the memory of past failures, exulting in power acquired almost solely by his individual prowess and ability, and confident no less in his good fortune than in his talents.

After the disgraceful Russian war, and the treaty of Adrianople, under the ban of "civilised and christian Europe," while gloom and despair hung over the whole Turkish empire, he alone had broken the stubborn neck of the Albanians, and established the authority of the Porte over these countries, at this moment of its apparent dissolution, in a manner unknown before, and which exceeded

the power of Mohammed II. in the hour of conquest. How could that conquest be secured, save by enlisting these brave and turbulent spirits in foreign adventure? and what an object of ambition was it not for him, who had surpassed the conquests of Mohammed on the shores of the Adriatic, to emulate the glory of Selim on the banks of the Nile!

But this new enemy was 2,500 miles distant from Scodra (as far as from St. Petersburg to Herat); and that wary fox, to whom the thoughts of Rechid Pasha were as well known as to himself, seeing the Porte now delivered from its war with Greece, and therefore strengthened by its loss—seeing Albania subdued, and that nursery of soldiers placed at the disposal of the Porte, and that state of anarchy and rebellion concluded in spite of all the art and money he had employed to prolong the exhausting struggle, soon felt that the storm must now reach him, and sweep, to the very foundations, the fabric of his hollow power,—unless he anticipated and averted its coming by carrying the field of conquest into the heart of Turkey, and rallied round himself the discontent created by the abuse of power, and by the pressure of foreign war and policy, which, with tenfold force, would have hailed the standard of Rechid Pasha in the Delta, and have overthrown, without a blow, the Gallic dreams and Russian ends of an Arab empire.

The Grand Vizir required, at the very least, twelve months to set Albania in order, after he should be tranquil possessor of the whole country. That time was absolutely requisite for the disposal

of those personal combinations on which alone authority reposes; for the enlisting, organisation, and disciplining of troops, and for the adjustment of the civil administration, without which tranquillity could not exist, nor could the affections of the people be conciliated, nor could pecuniary resources be drawn from it; indeed, time was requisite for sowing, harvesting, and repairing the effects of the late devastations, and allaying with bread the demons of anarchy and insurrection. Mehemet Ali Pasha seized this interval: Syria was lost before Rechid Pasha was enabled to march a single detachment. The desultory hordes of Hussein Pasha had already been sacrificed by his incapacity; and, before he was half prepared, he was called to the command of beaten and dispirited troops, and to meet a practised, confident, and victorious enemy. His banner, however, was followed into Asia by thousands of the so lately subdued Albanians, and a finer army never marched under Turkish colours. It is not the event of the war that would astonish any one who had seen Albania at the period I saw it; it is the fact of Albania remaining tranquil under the excitement of Ibrahim Pasha's march; it is the fact of Rechid Pasha having quitted it without his departure giving rise to a fresh revolt; it is the fact of his having been able to carry along with him, I will not say an army, but a single regiment. When he appeared at Constantinople at the head of so gallant and unexpected an array, hope and confidence again revived; but new complications and dangers attended the sudden change: the Ottoman star

shone brightly for a moment, and then its light was eclipsed, and Rechid Pasha became a prisoner in the tent of the Egyptian.*

The features of the Grand Vizir are prominent and distinct, and extremely intellectual and variable. Wherever seen, they could not fail to impress the beholder with the idea of great powers of mind, and of a consciousness of superiority above the display of it. His expression, when not irritated, is benignant. Such a disposition seems little to accord with many facts of his life, and those facts, too, with which I was most conversant; but there must be a solid substratum of benevolence in his character to have prevented him from becoming a monster of ferocity, amidst the exasperating circumstances which had crowded the last twenty years of his life. True, he has ordered executions ruthless in their severity. He had caused the heads of the guilty to fall, and had made use alike of treachery and wholesale execution; but he had never shed blood wantonly, and his purple vengeance had fallen without partiality. He is at that period

* There are mysterious circumstances connected with the battle of Conieh that time may perhaps clear up. As Rechid Pasha is now no more, I may mention that he is suspected of having made overtures to Ibrahim before the battle, perhaps with the view of joining forces, marching on Constantinople, and displacing the Seraskier. He miscalculated, not understanding the connexion of Ibrahim's movements with foreign diplomacy. Ibrahim's reply, was, "We are here to fight, and not to pay compliments." Rechid Pasha, before marching on Conieh, sent back the signet of Grand Vizir—a most strange, and, without the above explanation, a most unaccountable occurrence.

of life when feature is most expressive; when, without having lost its expanse, plumpness, or fire, it is pencilled and defined by character. A spreading black beard covers the half of his breast; but the gray hairs scattered through it, and which in the centre have triumphed over the black, have more than once been pointed out to me by the mournful solicitude of his "children." He is the idol of the troops—he is kind and coaxing in his daily intercourse with them—dreadful in his wrath, and a hero in the field.

He is familiarly termed their "Baba:" they speak of their affection for him as of a thing personified under the name of "Babalik." He is indefatigable in his application to business—he has no less quickness of perception than industry; but is destitute of method, and does everything, great and small, himself. However, his strong sense and indefatigability free him from that bane of Eastern power—favouritism. Superior to his age and nation in powers and frame of mind and body, he is also superior to their vices. Twenty hours a day has he been known to apply himself unremittingly to business. In the field, his activity is such that no servants or secretaries can follow him. He seems equally proof against hunger, thirst, fatigue, heat, cold, wine, women, and flattery. What would this man be with caution, moderation, and a more enlarged view of the word justice?

This sketch of the character of Rechid Pasha was written at Scodra; since then it has been more fully illustrated in the extensive Asiatic command

combined in his person. To him has the conduct of the war against the Koords been entrusted; and the forces for the long-menaced rupture between the Porte and Mehemet Ali have been placed at his disposal. In Europe and Asia has he already played a more important part than any Turkish Satrap since the days of the Kiuprili. He has fought and triumphed, and created the elements of his successes amidst populations so diversified,—on fields so remote from each other, that a traveller would have gained fame and reputation by following the tracts along which he has led armies, and by exposing the condition of the people whom he has handled or subdued.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

INVITATION TO A HAREM—MY HOST THE IMAUM—ISLAMISM.

DURING my stay at Scodra, the very interesting circumstance occurred to me of visits from the common soldiers. One of them came one evening, and brought me an apple; and then, instead of sitting down beside me in that unceremonious and patronising manner with which travellers are familiar, he retired, and stood as if forming the circle which commonly surrounds their own chiefs. I improved this opening, and soon had levees that might have vied with those of the Albanian Odjacks. My journal would be endless, if I were to enter into the many occurrences characteristic of these populations, because every day was a drama.

But I must not pass over in silence my amiable and interesting host, the Imaum, whose attentions to me were unremitting, notwithstanding the complete disturbance of all his domestic habits by my sojourn in his house. Though one of the best, because it had suffered the least, still one or two shots had passed through it, and it was but small; he

gave up to me the whole of the Selamlik, and retired into his Harem, with the inmates of which I was very soon on friendly terms. I was surprised one evening on returning home, and my room being cold and without a fire, when the Mollah invited me into the Harem to warm myself. The women tucked up the loose handkerchiefs hanging over their heads, so as partly to cover the face; and the Imaum's wife did not scruple to present me with a cup of coffee, while an old slave approached with a pipe. When in the midst of this family scene, the visit of an Albanian Bey was announced; his suite was already in the court, ascending the ladder that led to the corridor in front of the house. The Imaum rushed to secure the door of the Harem; and as retreat for me through the door was now become impossible, because I must have been seen by the attendants of the stranger, I had to make my exit by a small back window into the garden.

I cannot describe the feelings that rose in my mind when this invitation was given me. I trembled lest the expression of surprise on my countenance would alarm my host into a retractation of his offer. It was not till I crossed the threshold that I believed in its reality; and no sooner was I seated by the fire, than I asked myself, what is all this mystery about? The veil at once was rent, and the mystery had vanished.

After the departure of my visiter, I had a conversation with my host, prolonged nearly till morning, on the subject of religion. What an influence over Turkey does not the joint character of Chris-

tian, Protestant, and Englishman afford? As Christian, you are the depositary of their differences amongst themselves; as Protestant, you are an object of interest, by an affinity of religious simplicity and worship, and even of dogma; while distinct from the Greek and the Romish Churches, idolatrous and sacrilegious through their forms, in the eyes of the Turks: as Englishman, you are the depositary of all their political and national hopes and alarms. These characters, however, are of no avail, unless you know their feelings sufficiently to touch the chords that interest them, unless you know their manners sufficiently to make them bear you respect, unless you appreciate their merits sufficiently to awaken their sympathies, and unless you know their errors and their failings sufficiently to give weight to your words, and value to your opinions.

The reader may be surprised that I should have ventured to entertain my host with a disquisition on the Wahab tenets, for which he expressed, as in duty bound, his perfect condemnation and absolute horror. But as the Mollah did not exactly know what the Wahab tenets were, I got him into the admission of several of the principal tenets before informing that they were the Wahab doctrines, which, however, he no sooner ascertained, than his adhesion was retracted; and, on the other hand, he endeavoured to establish the Mussulman doctrines at variance with Christianity. He quoted Christ's prediction of the coming of the Holy Ghost, on which they seek to establish the prophetic character of Mahomet; adduced the symbolical designation

of Mahomet in the Old Testament, by his synonyme of "Treasure," or "Achmet," corresponding with Mahomet; and referred to the passage which they allege we have expunged from the Gospel of Matthew, indicating the advent of Mahomet as the accomplishment of the prophecies. I had replied by the general tone of the Gospels, as affecting the character of Christ, which are completely in contradiction with this interpretation, and by the absence of any revelation of new dogma by Mahomet, and by endeavouring to show that the true character of Christianity was not less hostile than Islamism to that Christianity which exists in the East. How far his previous convictions were shaken respecting Wahabeeism and Christianity, I discovered the next day, when I found him in deep discussion on the subject, with six old men of his congregation.

We went over a great portion of the conversation of the previous evening. About the Wahabees, indeed, they seemed to care little; but, with regard to the doctrines and dogmas of Protestantism, deep interest was evinced. I was called upon by the Imaum to repeat to them that we did not adore the Virgin Mary, that we said no prayers to saints, that we had no images, no cross, and no crossings, that we had no confession, and that we did believe nothing but what was in the Gospel. I then asked them, what their worship consisted in? They answered, in the belief of the unity of the Godhead, constant adoration of God, almsgiving, and the belief in the

holy writings (the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Gospels, and the Koran). The difference, I then said, between us is merely that you have the Koran more than we have. But the Koran, in all its dogmas, is but a repetition of the Gospels. No, said they, there is another difference between us, or else you would pronounce the words, "La illahe, hillallah, Mahomet resoul Allah." I answered, that a flag was useful in time of war, because it prevented those of the enemy's camp from mingling as friends; and when Mahomet enjoined on his followers the use of that phrase, a watchword was necessary to separate the Moslems from those with whom they fought, and to imprint upon them an indelible character, as contrasted with the barbarian Pagans to the East, and the idolatrous Greeks on the West. But that if Mahomet lived at the present time, I could not conceive that a man who, as a legislator, had produced so wholly unparalleled an effect on the state of the world, should now suffer to exist a symbol, which, instead of uniting them in victory, excluded them from sympathy, and which became a barrier between them and a nation who had every interest to support their independence, and to improve their condition. To these observations, which were more of a political than a religious character, no answer was made; when I ceased, the silence was unbroken, until I proceeded again in the same strain; referred to the contrast of their present with their former habits, and showed them how many practices, at present introduced into their

religion, were not only not enjoined by their faith, but condemned by it; and had been imitated from the faith they so much despised, namely, the Greek Church; the use of the word *Giaour*, for instance, which is an offence punishable by the Mussulman law, and the absence of all forms of respect towards the subjects of other courts, and the professors of other creeds, immediately derived from the practice of the Greek empire, and with which the national habits of the Turks were so much at variance. At length one of the company said:—"Your words are all true, and you are a better Mussulman than we are:" and another repeated an old prophecy, which said that the time would come, when the cleverest and the greatest of the kingdoms of Frangistan should become the elder brother of the *Ali Osman douvlet* (the Ottoman empire).

The Imaum, my host, was not a wealthy man; he had no fields to cultivate, but he worked his garden himself, and had only one male attendant, a little ragged boy. From his office of priest he derived no emolument, except the fees for washing the dead. He subsisted on the small proceeds which accrued to him from the direction of a *Vakouf*, the property having been rendered vakouf by one of his ancestors, who had stipulated by will, that the *Metevelli*, or Inspector, should always be selected from amongst his descendants.

In cities and villages of importance, there is always a choice for the priesthood amongst men

of substance, or at least of easy means of existence. In the poorer villages, however, the office of schoolmaster, which is remunerated, is very commonly added to that of Imaum; or, if the Imaum is a peasant like the rest, some advantage is given him in the way of assistance or presents. There is no ordination amongst the priesthood, and no organisation; the election depends entirely on the congregation; and as there is neither exclusion nor restriction, public opinion acts in so equable and peaceable a manner, that it is very difficult to ascertain the principle in the forms, or indeed to perceive any forms at all.

The strong devotional character of Islamism, the power which that faith displays in influencing and moulding habits in every stage of social advancement, the hold which it takes of their minds, the unity of faith, and equality of dispositions established amongst its professors, are things which have excited the wonder and astonishment of those who have directed their attention to this subject. And that astonishment is still further increased by the absence, in their worship, of all appeal to the senses or the imagination, and the absence, in their church government, of those bonds which we look to alone for strength, and of those interests which appear to us necessary to give permanency or uniformity to a system. I am inclined to think that the absence of a clergy, instead of increasing the difficulty of accounting for the facts we see, goes a great way to account for them. The service of the altar and the influence of the pulpit, being

open to all, make this career of honour and distinction a national career, and associate men's honour with piety, and public spirit with religious devotion. The absence of walls of separation between the doctors and the professors of the faith gives a uniformity to their ideas respecting it, whence springs unity; not from the power which the State can direct against the non-conformist, but because radical grounds of difference have been removed. Thus the union of Church and State, instead of endangering political rights and religious dogma, serves reciprocally to check the excesses of each, through the necessity which the State feels of the sanction of the Church, and through the desire ever present in the Church or nation, of controlling the government. The Sultan is chief of the religion, but he is not the chief of a clerical body; he is the dispenser of no benefices, he is the expounder of no dogmas, he is the arbitrator of no church discipline; he is but the first unbeneficed sayer of prayers of the congregation of Islam. There is no feeling of irritation produced, or tendency to scepticism instilled, by the payment of money for religious duties. Faith is not distracted by the struggles of clerical bodies; religion is not scandalised by the failings or errors of professed representatives.

## CHAPTER XXV.

### THE LIFE OF THE HAREM.

"The most happy man is he, to whom God has given content and a good wife."— *Proverbs of Ali, Son-in-law of Mahomet.*

THE smile of beauty, amidst the gathered throng, is wanting throughout the East to grace the honours of the wise, and to gild the laurels of the brave. The hymeneal ring is not there the great and visible source of the activity and the energy of man's early years. The influence of women is different in manner, unobtrusive on observation, and not so exclusively concentrated on a single relationship, but it certainly is not less than among Western nations. How much of the thirst of power, and therefore of energy and action, is prompted by the calm satisfaction and applause of the secret Gyneceum? How much of the respect for the recognised principles of honour, faith, and loyalty, amidst slippery circumstances, are not to be traced to the every where powerful and identical influence exercised over the men by the invisible Harem:—whence, from generation to generation, is derived, unchanged, the same early domestic

habits; and through which the domestic type of the race has been spread, where its limits extend or its population been dispersed; by which the original simplicity of character has been preserved unaltered after the glory of the name has faded, and the power of the nation has passed away.

In Turkey, individual character, such as it was in the days of conquest, remains the same in these times, when every external circumstance, and every foreign opinion and influence, coincide to place it in the last stage of dissolution. This unexampled circumstance ought particularly to be borne in mind, in looking at, or endeavouring to render to ourselves, an account of that half of the population —women—who are too commonly neglected in our reasonings on all nations, but who have been wholly omitted in our estimate of the Turks; among whom, however, they have a more distinct existence, a more special and definable character, greater influence on education, morals, and habits, than with us; and where, consequently, they form a much more important part of the political body.

Can I dare to cross the threshold of that Harem, that mysterious and invisible home of Eastern life, which fixes every family, like a standard tree, by itself, yet exactly resembling all its neighbours, distinct in bearing, one and the same in substance and in character;—without the knowledge of which, events the most familiar are often without their key, and lessons the most instructive without their fruit? In the domestic and social state of the female sex in the East, varieties are moreover presented to us,

interesting and curious in themselves, but not less so from their affording counterparts of ourselves, sufficiently resembling us to bring the differences into evidence, and collecting, in one point, two separate and most attractive classes of interest now exhausted in Europe; viz. new manners in other men, new ideas respecting our own, derivable from the contrast. Whether I can convey to others the subject-matter of that interest, or whether such a degree of interest may be legitimately attached to these subjects, it is not for me to determine; I feel it only incumbent on me to anticipate the question, how a male traveller can in Turkey know anything of the women. Without seeing or conversing with a single Turkish woman, it is no very difficult thing to form an idea of their state. You must commence by knowing the men; in them, and through them, it is easy to know the women. There is no reason to be surprised at our ignorance of the life of the Harem, when we are equally ignorant of the habits and ideas of the Selamlik. I hold it to be utterly impossible to form a correct estimate of any portion of the Eastern mind, and consequently of Eastern existence, unless you are thoroughly master of the whole; even as it is impossible to pronounce a single phrase of a language correctly, unless you are completely in possession of the language itself. So the habits of the Harem, the manners of the Selamlik, can neither of them be understood, excepting after being fully in possession of Eastern thought and character.

It is universally believed that the Turks never speak of their women, and that to inquire for a

Turk's wife is an affront and an insult; so it is amongst themselves: but a stranger has, in every country, if he chooses to employ them, greater means of information than the natives themselves. He has the inestimable advantage of being familiar with an infinitely greater number of facts and ideas. He can draw contrasts, seize upon the salient and important points, which a man, familiar with himself and his own, never can. His mind is ever on the alert, his presence excites discussion, the deference that is paid him allows him to lead it to the objects which interest him; and his character of foreigner opens up trains of thought which countrymen and co-religionists conceal from each other, and enables him to overstep the limits which habits or prejudice may have prescribed to inquiry and discussion. Thus it is that I have always found the state of women, and the comparison of the condition and manners, education and ideas, of their women with those of Europe, an object of deep interest, and a never-failing subject of conversation; and, with Turkish women, whom I have never seen, I have entertained an intercourse of messages and inquiries through their male relations.

Boys and girls are brought up together; they go to school together, the boys are constantly in the Harem, nor are the girls excluded from the Selamlik. Now, if it is these first years that stamp the character of man, they equally mould the character of woman; that mould is here identical for both. From the period when we assume an active part on the stage of life, the male character takes new

colours from external things; its bearing and its manners become such as "the court, camp, church, the vessel, and the mart," inculcate or require. The women have no such obligations or distractions to change the course of their infantine habits and duties; the forms and observances which I have pointed out as the curb of childhood, become the rule and occupation of their future lives; and even a Sultan's Harem, composed of elements so diversified, and of numbers of hearts and dispositions so perplexing, where nothing exists, according to our notions, to occupy their thoughts or to restrain their passions, will exhibit a scene of the most picture-like representation, where courtly forms are never for a moment violated, and which yet possesses so much of enjoyment, that deliverance and liberty, with a dower and a husband, is considered, and often felt, a punishment and disgrace.

In endeavouring to describe the character of the children, I have asked the reader to picture to himself a child in all the amiability and attractiveness of its nature, but without shyness and without rudeness. To picture a Turkish woman, I would beg him, if possible, to fancy to himself woman without vanity and without affectation, perfectly simple and natural, and preserving the manners and the type of her childhood, in the full blossom or fructification of her passions and her charms. Turkish women are the slaves of habit, but that servitude leaves thought unshackled and fancy free; and there is amongst them a striking originality of mind, which is rendered the more remarkable by the uniformity

of their habits, and the more vivid by the concentration, within a narrow circle, of the energies which we expend on external things.

Love between the sexes is by no means the important affair in the East that it is amongst us. With us it stands alone, the deity or the idol, at whose shrine all other affections are sacrificed, to whose law all other duties give way. Marriage is, generally speaking, the excitement to distinction, the reward of success, and stands an epoch pre-eminent in our existence. But "thou shalt leave thy father and thy mother, and cleave unto thy wife," has not been transcribed from the Gospel to the Koran. Where the affections are so strongly involved in the other relationships, and where, from habit and the consequent structure of their houses, the family lives so constantly in common, the wife cannot acquire that exclusive affection, or that domestic power, which she derives in Europe from the force of habit,* as well as from the comparative weakness of other, and especially of filial and parental ties. The wife in the East is not the mistress of the household, she is the daughter of her hus-

* Principally from the separation of families on marriage, and from the precedence which the daughter-in-law takes of her husband's widowed mother. The absence of family etiquette, and the confusion of ideas respecting it, is, to an Eastern, quite sufficient to account for, to him, the strange state of society in which families separate, to avoid contradictory pretensions between mothers and daughters-in-law, between sisters-in-law, &c., or indeed between these degrees of blood relationship.

band's mother. If they were told of a country where the mother has to remove from the family roof to make room for the son's wife, they would consider the tale as a trial of their credulity, or as a satire on human nature.

When a Turk, in his domestic or his political character, breaks through the bonds of habit, his passions then have no further restraint. But the general tenour of the life of the Harem is, as far as I have been able to judge, one of tranquil, but contented and happy equanimity; excepting the case, by no means common, when more than one wife divides its authority and prerogatives.

In talking one evening to a Turk, of a trip I proposed to take of a couple of weeks, he offered to accompany me. Next morning, however, I found him entirely changed; after attempting various excuses, he said, "I will not be ashamed to tell you the real cause of my disinclination to fulfil my promise of last night. When I began to think how I could tell my wife, I could not find the way to do it. For so long an absence I had no reason to assign that would satisfy her; and could she think that I would run away uselessly from my home, unless I did not care about it? Now, my wife is of a rich house, a Constantinopolitan (*Sheherli*,) yet she has lived with me, in this poor village, for fifteen years, and I have never heard yok? or ah! from her lips," (that is, an expression of discontent, or a word of opposition). This instance, which I do not quote as an exception, of the feelings which we might suppose not capable of surviving the honey-

moon, after fifteen years of matrimony, will, I trust, not be lost on my married readers: and the same tone of harmony and attachment I have invariably perceived, when I have had opportunities of judging of the feelings of Turks towards their homes.

In a country where forms are of such paramount importance, not only in the intercourse, but in the very constitution, of society; where they not only are scrupulously observed in their infinite modifications between the various ranks and relationships, but where they form and establish those ranks, and almost relationship itself:—it is clear, that from them may be gathered the most decisive evidence of the consideration in which one sex holds the other, and of the duty and respect which one relation is considered to owe to another. It is probably because we never have had any opportunities of seeing men and women together, that we have so generally, and during so many ages, admitted the doctrine of the inferior, moral, and social position of women in the East. It strikes me that a sketch of the mode of address and intercourse in the interior of the Harem will best disprove the correctness of that opinion, and, moreover, be the most acceptable details which I could give.

Let us suppose a Harem of distinction, where the return of the master is announced, and the wife is seated beside the mother-in-law, surrounded by their attendants, such as the *Keleri ustah*, *Cafiji ustah*, *Sazende bashi*, the *Kalfahs* and *Alaïcs*; corresponding with the *Tchiboukji*, *Cafiji*, *Ibrikji*, the *Ushaks* and the *Kulchs* of the Selamlik. An Alaïc

announces, by the regular sign, the arrival of the *Paterfamilias*; the slipper-shod and light-footed crowd disperses in an instant; the young Alaïcs of the wife are not suffered to be seen by the husband, but others await him at the door of the Harem, ranged on both sides. He salutes them with "Selam aleikum:" they hold up the flowing parts of his dress, his sabre, if he wears one, and lift him, as it were, by the elbows. His wife meets him before the door of her chamber, and after he has saluted her in the same manner, she kisses his hand, raising it to her lips and forehead; and, as we will suppose the visit to his mother, follows him into the room. His mother gets up; he, now suddenly dropping his stateliness, steps forward, and, bending down to the ground, attempts to take his mother's hand, to carry it in like manner to his lips and forehead; she does the same. She then reseats herself in her corner, and says, "*Otourun evlatum,*" (Sit down, child of my house;) he respectfully acknowledges the invitation, and perhaps it has again to be repeated before he complies with it, and then places himself in a respectful attitude, and at a distance, or on the *shilté* on the floor. The attendants have ranged themselves along the lower portion of the room below the Divan, the wife alone stands in the middle of the floor, the mother not making free to ask her to be seated in the presence of her son, the son not taking such a liberty in the presence of his mother; and, in all their intercourse, it is thus left undecided which is the host; and thus, each performing towards the other the ceremonies practised

by the guest to the host: I need not repeat that, in the Eastern ceremonial, the guest of superior rank becomes the host of his host. But while these forms are rigidly observed at each period of meeting, they in no way interfere with the natural flow of spirits, or the display of affection.

But as in the Harem every person has her own apartment and establishment, it never happens that a son enters thus abruptly the presence of his mother. A message is first sent to her favourite attendant, to know if his mother is dressed or visible. On the affirmative answer, a message is sent to herself, to say that her son desires to kiss her feet; and, on permission being granted, he presents himself at her door.

The wife appears to be treated very differently from our notions, but she is treated by her husband as a younger sister is, and that in nowise differs from the treatment of a younger brother. There is no difference as regards sex. On the other hand, the treatment of a mother by her son or daughter shows a much greater degree of authority in woman than is to be found in Europe.*

Nor can the great and the powerful emancipate themselves from the control which these habits and forms show to reside in the mother over

* I was first made acquainted with the feelings of respect which Turks entertain for the sex by entering, with some Mussulman friends, the apartment of one who was laid up, and attended by his mother: the whole party saluted the lady by kissing her hand.

her children. Imagine Ibrahim Pasha staying a whole week in the Harem of his mother, waiting to find a favourable opportunity of pressing a request upon her; and, when admitted, kissing her feet, refusing to be seated, and standing an hour and a half with his arms crossed before her. The subject of his earnestness is no less instructive. Mehemet Ali, several years before, with that indifference to the prejudices and habits of his country which characterises him, had had some intercourse with a slave of his wife, the mother of Ibrahim Pasha. This the old lady had resented in a very decided manner: Mehemet Ali, not submitting as he ought to have done to the decision of the *Cadun,* she abandoned his house, and since then has resided by herself in the castle. This scene of family scandal was, however, too great for Mehemet Ali Pasha not to feel its effects, and to desire a reconciliation. All his attempts were, however, ineffectual; in her contempt for the man who had put this affront upon her, who had borne him "not only sons but heroes," she persisted in refusing even to notice his attempts, to which she gave but one invariable reply, "I don't know who Mehemet Ali Pasha is." In the mean time, however, he lost his son, Toussoun Pasha; he was so affected by this loss, that he fell into fits of raving and delirium, which occasioned serious apprehensions for his life, and which left him, for some time, in a state of insensibility. On this occasion his wife went to him, and never quitted his pillow while there was danger; she then retired again to

her own establishment. This led to a fresh attempt at reconciliation; her answer was, that though Mehemet Ali Pasha neglected his duties, she could not, therefore, neglect hers; she had done her duty, he was now well again, required no assistance from her, and therefore she ceased to recollect that he was in existence. It was on this occasion that Ibrahim Pasha observed the etiquette which led me to mention the circumstance, while he, the conqueror of Syria, and the victor of Koniah, humbly sued, from an aged woman, for the pardon of the Viceroy of Egypt, and had his suit rejected.

It is singular to observe the extraordinary resemblance of the general features of female existence, and of the minutest details of habits, at the remotest periods of Eastern history, and at the present day; and yet, strange to say, the Europeans, the most familiar with the East, seem all to have been equally unconscious of the feelings of Easterns respecting women, and of their conduct and manners towards them.

Sir John Malcolm is of opinion that women, in a former age in Persia, occupied an "honourable station" in society; since Quintus Curtius relates, that Alexander did not venture to sit down in the presence of the mother of Darius, until desired to do so; because, among the Persians, it was not the custom for sons to sit before their mothers. The reader, after the perusal of the foregoing anecdote, will perceive that the habits of the Harem of Mehemet Ali Pasha exactly coincide in this, as

probably in every other respect, with the manners of the Harem of Darius; and here do we see in the East of antiquity, as in the present day, family ties overlying reasons of state, and domestic rank superseding social rank. This incident may throw light on the character and the triumphs of Alexander.

Lord Byron, in "Sardanapalus," makes the monarch, his queen, and her brother, equally admit, although they variously treat, the indignity offered by Sardanapalus to his legitimate spouse, by his intercourse with the fair Greek slave. The sentiment is perfectly Eastern; and, indeed, it is the only point in the Harem portion of the tragedy that has any touch of the East about it. Bishop Heber, however, reproves this poetic license as follows:— "We are not sure whether there is not a considerable violation of costume, in the sense of degradation with which Myrrha seems to regard her situation in the Harem, no less than in the resentment of Salemenes, and the remorse of Sardanapalus, on the score of his infidelity to Zarina. Little as we know of the domestic habits of Assyria, *we have reason to conclude, from the habits of contemporary nations, and from the manners of the East in every age*, that polygamy was neither accounted a crime in itself, nor as a measure of which the principal wife was justified in complaining." Myrrha was not a wife, but a mistress.

It is well known that the sovereigns of the house of Ottoman have, since the time of Bayazid II., been debarred from the privileges of matrimony. The pretence of this restriction was the

dread of seeing again the wife of a Sultan exposed to misfortune or indignity; but the real reasons were, the private liberty which the Sultan himself acquired, and the emancipation of the powerful influences of the Court, and even the Janissaries, from the preponderance and power of a regal consort, whose person would be inviolable. It is not, therefore, to be expected that, in the Seraglio of Constantinople, the same restraint should be placed over the fancy of the monarch, that the relationship to his wife of a powerful chief placed over the betrothed lord of the Harem of Nineveh. Nevertheless, Sultan Mahmoud, with his Harems and Odalisks, is far from enjoying, in this respect, the range of fancy, and the faculty of selection, enjoyed by his christian peers. Inexorable custom, and the settled notions of right and wrong, (which are the only laws in the world, let legislators and parliaments write and talk their worst,) oppose an insuperable barrier to his supposed omnipotence. The present Sultan is said to have been once deeply in love; his suit, as a lover, was admitted, but the "Sultan" was compelled to sever ties deemed inconsistent with the dignity of his station, and the honour of the imperial Harem. He himself was the child of romantic love. His mother, dressed as one of the officers of the palace, used invariably to attend her lord; and when he went to the Divan, whither she could not accompany him, he carried her slipper in his breast, that, as he said, he might ever be under the influence of his good genius.

Having spoken of the Sultan, in connexion with this subject, I linger ere I turn away:—the time is not yet come; but when it does, what an interesting field will not his character and times present! There is in him such a fund of benevolence and of kindliness of feeling, so much extravagance and caprice, so much art and dexterity in the management of the detail of Turkish politics and events, so much vanity, and so little pride: such a love of the eccentric and of novelty, and such a mixture, in his times, of great events, great disasters, great successes, strange ideas, and curious incidents.

When combating an idea so universally established in Europe, as that of the licentiousness of the Harem, I am tempted to quote incidents that have occurred in the families of men of notoriety and distinction, because the accuracy of such examples would not be doubted, or at least their inaccuracy could be easily exposed. If I do not do so, it is not for want of materials, but the delicacy of the subject will sufficiently account for my reserve. I may, however, say, without telling any secrets, that, with the exception of two or three, the men filling the highest dignities of the empire have only one wife; and the anecdotes I am sorry not to quote go to prove, that the treasures which their Harems may contain are strictly locked out of sight of their nominal masters.

What I have already said of their manners will show that the domestic occupations of the women, independently of those avocations which women

have in Europe, are numerous enough to occupy a great deal of their time; I mean even in the Harems of the rich! for, as to the mass of the population, it is needless to say that there is pretty nearly here as much drudgery as in the rest of the world, and that time is wanting for that which is necessary, instead of its superabundance requiring the distraction of novels, or the "idle business" of fashionable existence. A Turkish lady, in the midst of her suite, is such as Electra was in the midst of her handmaidens. Almost everything that is requisite for the household is prepared at home; a great deal of embroidery is used in their dresses, or in the ornaments of their household: but it is not only the putting together of the most tasteful parts of their furniture or attire which demands their care, the various materials are themselves of home produce. The cotton that grows in their fields, the silk nurtured under their roof, is spun by their own hands; the dyes are prepared in the kitchen; the silk is plaited into braid and lace, the loom and the shuttle are driven by fair hands.* A household is thus a domestic manufactory of all that is requisite. Even heavier labours fall to the lot of the

* In the Harem is generally made that delicate stuff of silk, or silk and cotton, which looks like crape, with brilliant stripes of soft satin, and which is worn by men and women for their inner clothing, and is used for sheets. This stuff, by the delicacy of its texture, the harmonising softness of its colour, and its light transparency, gives an elegance and a chaste richness to the person and the night costume which singularly contrast with the stiff form and glaring whiteness of our blue-starched canezous and jabots, and the ludicrousness of our dishabille.

female servants: grinding of corn with hand-mills, pounding of coffee, and the like. The habitual state and numbers of retinue are thus combined with economy, and that almost St. Simonian community of worldly goods which characterises the general habits of the East, is a natural consequence of their domestic manners; and, while thus numerous and diversified occupations fill the time and occupy the thoughts of the apparently secluded inmates, they receive a species of worldly instruction, and a knowledge diversified and practical, which, perhaps, gives a real culture to the mind, as solid, and far more interesting than the commonplace book-learning of many of those who would set down the information of Turkish women as ignorance—their ignorance is that of our great-grandmothers. In consequence of these habits, one seldom is able to get in the market, or bazaar, any of those things that may be considered the luxuries or the elegancies of the East. But, on the other hand, a stranger may apply to a Harem to have such work done for him as he cannot procure elsewhere; for instance, any portion of the national or provincial costume of a Harem which resides in the capital; the request, instead of an insult, will be taken as a compliment. It is no uncommon thing to hear, "Such or such a Harem works well;" "Such another Harem works better;" "Such a thing can only be made in such a Harem."

In the capital, of course, these patriarchal habits have, to a certain degree, been obliterated, but the type remains; and in nothing can the depth of its

impress be more clearly visible than in the superiority assumed by the ladies of the distant provinces over those of the capital. And here, again, may an analogy be traced with the habits of our own country at a former period, when the lady of the distant castle despised the life of the court, and considered those who basked in its favour as the mere satellites of a prince, who eclipsed them by the splendour he cast over them.

Another source of domestic occupation, which may seem rather extraordinary, are religious duties. Prayers, short, it is true, but repeated five times a-day, and each time preceded by the *abdest*, or religious ablution of hands, feet, arms, legs, head, and neck.* Before each of the two meals there is a dipping of the fingers in water, and a copious ablution after each, not by plashing in filthy water in a basin, but by having pure water poured from a vase over a wide basin. Nothing can exceed the cleanliness of the whole establishment, that is to say, the interior; for the outside may have the air of an old barn, and the environs be choked up with filth and dirt. In the inside the aspect is very different. The constant use of soap and water will attest the cleanliness of their persons; and yet, in the East, one gets an idea of cleanliness beyond the reach of washing, and which is the result of three or four hours spent in the vapour bath, and which you leave with a sensation of cleanliness so

* But, in the interval between two washings, should they not have touched any thing which soils, there is no necessity for repeating the *abdest*.

perfect, that it seems impossible that any thing can soil you.

The habit of leaving boots, shoes, and slippers at the door, and wearing leather buskins, made to fit tight to the feet, and without thick soles, or, indeed, of going about barefoot while it is necessary, for the noiselessness in which the Turks rejoice is also a habit most essentially conducive to cleanliness. The floor is as clean as any other part of the dwelling; a spot on the hand is instantly washed off; the accidental ruffle of a curtain or a sofa immediately smoothed down; a shred on the floor is no sooner observed than picked off. The habits of order are thus carried to what would be with us a fatiguing excess.

It is a common observation, that cleanliness of the person coincides with order and integrity of mind. May not cleanliness have much to do with the characteristic integrity of the Turks? It certainly forms among them an essential portion of education, and begets those feelings of self-respect that so remarkably distinguish them from the masses of other people. You are perfectly sure that a Turk is always unsoiled by the contact of anything uncleanly or disagreeable. So with regard to everything that is presented at their table. Washing amongst them, even if not enjoined, would assume the character of a religious duty, and cleanliness the importance of an article of faith. The slightest impurity weighs on the conscience, because it irritates the nerves. This feeling is carried so far, that the water itself must

be perfectly pure; and, having once touched the person, must not touch it again. Water, used in ablution, must always have the character of a running stream: it is poured by one attendant, from a jar with a long and narrow spout, while another holds a basin with a pierced cover below. About their houses there are numerous fountains, where a slender stream may be turned over a marble basin for washing. At the mosques, close to public charitable institutions (of a description unknown in Europe,) and in the lanes and streets, numerous water-cocks of this description are placed low down, with a step of marble before them, to afford to the public the convenient means of washing their feet and legs, as well as their arms and head. After getting accustomed to their mode of washing, ours has something very revolting in it; and one can easily conceive the disgust, which a traveller sometimes unconsciously excites, while fancying he is acting in perfect conformity with the rage for ablutions of the people among whom he is residing.

The life of the women is not, however, confined to the Harem: they go regularly to the bath; which, like the Thermæ of the Romans, is a place of recreation and of merriment, of public meeting and of family mirth. The Khanum is accompanied by her slaves and children; she there meets her friends, similarly attended. Their gorgeous apparel is laid aside; and, wrapped in easy and statue-like drapery, they assemble in a middle chamber, where the marble floor is gently heated, and into

which is suffered to enter a portion of the steam from the warmer apartment of the bath beyond it. Here they sit, chatting about their children, their sons, their husbands, and perchance, at times, approach, and even opine on, the graver matters of ministerial changes and European policy. While pipes and coffee are served by their attendants, and girls, sitting at their back, or at their feet, knead them with their little hands, and gently perform a complicated service of slight shampooing, patting, and dressing of the hair. All this time the children and attendants, rejoicing in the habitual liberty of the place, are within washing, chatting, singing, and throwing water about. When the multiplied operations of the bath are over, and when they are again attired as before, and previously to their customary dresses being put on, a repast is not uncommonly served; and this recreation, which lasts nearly a whole day, recurs once a week.*

Visiting and shopping are no less the delight of the fair of the East than of the West; and to these out-door occupations have to be added excursions on the water, and drives, which lately have become the vogue since the stately pace of the gilded Araba, drawn by buffaloes or oxen, has been superseded by light carriages on springs, like the cars of whirligigs for children at fairs, drawn by one or two horses, and dashing along the new roads that have been lately made on all sides of the capital.†

* Every house of distinction has got a private bath.

† There is a different drive fixed for every day in the week in various suburbs of the wide-spread capital, so as to give the

The women are generally far more observant than the men of religious practices; but, among the former, there is none of that religious pride and exclusiveness that is found amongst the latter. With the men, religion has been mixed up with political differences; and thus political causes have given a haughtiness and a stubbornness to their intercourse with the subjects of the christian powers; and thus has arisen a strange opposition between their personal and their national character. Amongst the women, the former class of feelings is less brought into play: they have no pride, and little vanity; and, although strictly observant of the practices of religion, they do not show their piety by contempt for others. There is here no class of persons to take advantage of devotional feelings for their own private interest: there are no ceremonies of religion for which money is to be paid or received, no auricular confession, no absolution, and no ghostly visits of family priests to excite lucrative devotion.

The affection that reigns between the slaves of the Harem and their Cadun differs little from filial regard, while they are treated as children by their mistress. It is no extraordinary thing to see one of the Sultan's sisters going to sup at the lowly dwelling of one of her *Cheracks** or Alaïcs, who

fashionable of all quarters an equal chance. There are, in like manner, seven market-places, one day of the week being appointed for each.

* Servants, or slaves who have quitted their master and receive an annuity.

has been married out of her Harem, not to a Pasha, or a governor, but to a common shopkeeper, or a petty officer. When an Alaïc is told by her mistress that she is going to give her away in marriage, the answer is, "What have I done, that this should happen to me?"

In a household, wages are not the bond between the master or mistress and the servant. The servant may have a small allowance, which is considered as his wages; but that sum generally does not, perhaps, amount to a twentieth or a hundredth part of that which, in reality, he or she receives, which comes in the form of presents and of recompenses from the master or mistress; and by presents from without, in proportion to the grade of the family, or the elevation of the influence of its master.

The habit of irregular remuneration, in lieu of fixed, invariable, and *actionable* wages, produces a difference of mental habits, as regards servants and masters, that I am sure is not to be understood through description; and yet every day you see Europeans, those men who affect such comprehensive views and such powers of logic, reviling the habit of giving presents, not perceiving that this practice leads to the preservation of those interesting domestic relations, which I conceive to be the greatest lesson, political and moral, which is presented to us by the Eastern world.*

* The bacshish, or present, becomes a mark of approbation (and no feeling is so prominent in an Eastern's mind as the desire of approbation,) so that, in a hard-driven bargain for ser-

The slave, being bought young, being educated in the house, being the object of peculiar regard and a source of distinction, may be considered at once as a member of the family; and slaves in after life, when separated from their patron, designate their first patron as their father.* The constant intermarriages between slaves and daughters of a family, and female slaves and sons of the family, give to their domestic position something more interesting than natural family ties. But hired servants also may aspire to some share in these privileges and advantages; there is no idea of degradation attached to their position; they may rise to any grade in the state, and each immediately feels, in his own position and in his own circumstances, the effect of any change, whether of elevation or depression, in the station or position of their master; and each, again, depends for his position in the household, for his prospects in life, on conciliating the master's good-will, which thus of itself alone, and

vices, you will not be unfrequently called on to specify what the bacshish will amount to. An Englishman, bargaining for a boat, had fixed 600 piasters. The men then inquired what the bacshish would be. The Englishman did not understand this at all, and the bargain was nearly broken off, when some one suggested, "Make your bargain for 500, and give the remaining 100 as *bacshish*." This arrangement satisfied every body.

* At a meeting of reconciliation between Ibrahim Pasha and Rechid Pasha, at Missolonghi, the former addressed the latter in these words:—"It is not written that sons shall always hate because their fathers quarrelled:" alluding to the schism between Mehemet Ali Pasha and the Seraskier Pasha, whose slave Rechid Pasha had been.

without reference to consequence, becomes a subject of pride and an object of emulation. I have heard it remarked by Europeans, who have had opportunities of judging of the interior of Turkish establishments, that great jealousy reigns among the household respecting the favour of their master or their mistress. But this is not a result of any peculiar jealousy of individual disposition, but of fundamental differences of institutions and ideas. By the absence of fictitious lines of separation between the classes of mankind, individual character becomes more important, is more developed, and the affections of men acquire an immediate and decisive influence over state, station, and fortune.

The European servant, with his fixed wages, in the impossibility of aspiring to anything higher, and treated as a menial, coalesces with his fellows against his master, because he has nothing particular to expect from his devotedness or his master's regard, and his only chance of improving his circumstances is through peculation. No friendly or affectionate intercourse takes place between them; their position has rendered them heartless or dishonest; and the character thence accruing contributes still further to lower their station, and obliterates every trace of mental intercourse between the class of masters and those who form the larger portion of our household, who are present with us during the greater portion of our time, and on whose services all our comforts depend. Hence we are deprived of a great source of enjoyment, and are unconscious of that species of domestic happiness

which is a chief source of gratification to every individual throughout the vast regions, where unnatural feelings have not been inspired into the mind of man respecting his fellow-creatures.

From this separation arises, also, a difference of style and manner of education, ideas, pursuits, and modes of expression, which establish so strong a distinction between the class of masters and the class of servants, that we can scarcely conceive a state of society in which they can co-exist on friendly affectionate terms, sympathise without loss of respect, and fraternise without prejudice to duty or infraction of custom. This facility of domestic intercourse in the East depends also, in a great degree, on the equality of the mental state, and of the manners of the various grades of society. The ideas of every class are much the same, and the effect which is produced in every man's house by his elevation in the scale of political influence, or even by pursuits of an intellectual character, is equally sensible in them; while, as to manner, the porter and the tradesman know equally well how to conduct themselves as the Vizir and the General. The combined effect of these various dispositions and circumstances is, that the Harem of the East resembles less a European family than a European court—if in a court simplicity and affection were to take the place of vanity and interest. The master of the family is treated like a little sovereign; and no wonder that he despises, that he disregards, the attractions and the throngings of external society, and that, absorbed in his family and his home, he

regards as indifferent, if not as foreign, many of those principles and combinations which constitute our national feelings and our ideas of patriotism.

It is not to be overlooked, in a country where the recollections and the apprehensions of war and warfare can never be wholly withdrawn from the feelings and habits of the family circle, that woman is respected amid the catastrophes of war, her abode unmolested in the sack of a city—a result of the early impressed respect for the family hearth. Here is a singular term of comparison, which those only, who have witnessed both Europeans and Asiatics, during such fearful suspensions of discipline and law, can justly appreciate.*

It must not, however, be thought, that the obser-

* The Indian government, about twenty-five years ago, found itself under the necessity of fitting out an expedition against the pirates who infested the coasts of Arabia. When the British force had broken their power, the opinion of the brave leader, and of his professionally judging veterans and other officers, was loudly pronounced for measures of the extremest kind, which, by one fearful example, should strike terror into the minds of those ungovernable tribes which inhabited several hundred miles of the Arabian coast. But, fortunately, in the English camp there were three young men who had caught the genius of the East. Their voice prevailed; mercy and kindness was the policy which has secured, during the long interval between that expedition and the present day, the total cessation of piracy throughout these seas. It was stipulated, however, by these young men, that, in the occupation of the fortress of the pirates, the native, and not the English, troops should be used, from the conviction that the excesses, of which the English troops would be guilty, would frustrate the objects in view.

vances and ceremonials which I have attempted to describe interfere with the spontaneous prompting of mind and feelings, and cast a net of form and stiffness over the common practices of life. When you have become accustomed to them, you forget that they exist quite as much as we ourselves forget that the habits of our own daily intercourse would be curious or surprising to a stranger; such as the impossibility of speaking to persons to whom you have not been introduced, the wearing of tight stays, boots, or collars, by a whole people, from the hour of rising to that of going to bed, the sitting a couple of hours at a dinner-table, or any one of those habits which, unless one has chanced to see something different, appear the ordinary course of nature.

The society of Turks is neither sombre nor formal, and nowhere is affection or regard expressed with less constraint; but intimacy never degenerates into familiarity, hilarity into boisterousness, or kindness into vulgarity.

The nearest relatives, as the most intimate friends, never are familiar. On the other hand, the servant or the slave, that treats his master with the most profound humility and respect, would feel shocked and insulted by the exhibition of want of confidence, or by restraint put upon the use of speech. What difficulties do not, therefore, attend our intercourse with a people so dissimilar? And is it surprising that such contradictory impressions should be produced upon the strangers who have seen and attempted to describe them? The Turks remind

one of a porcupine: grate their feelings or their prejudices, and everywhere a sharp and hostile point is presented to your hand; know them, and be known by them, and they are as smooth and pliable as down. Having experienced each of these effects, I can connect both with the cause, which was in myself, and not in them. When I first quitted the confines of Turkey, it was with hatred in my heart and contempt on my lips—the necessary consequence of the treatment I had received from them, and which was again the necessary result of my position as a European, and my ignorance as an observer. Chance and perseverance led me to other conclusions; and thence an experience of another kind.

Words are but the representatives of impressions and of feelings. When between two men there is a difference of original impressions, they cannot be said to have a common language, because the ideas represented in the speech of the one is not conveyed to the intelligence of the other; and in nothing is this absence of a common language more sensibly felt than in our estimate of the domestic state and feelings of the East. A European derives his principal social gratification from mixing in society; a Turk derives his from existence in his family. A Turk would be punished by exclusion from his home, in the same way that an European, moving in the higher or middling ranks of life, would be punished by confinement to his home. These facts being ascertained, the conclusion is evident—that there is a greater degree of family

enjoyment in the one country than in the other; but it is a very difficult thing to arrive at these facts; because a European, seeing the Turk incapable of enjoying what to him are principal sources of enjoyment, will conclude that he is dull and insensible, and not that his enjoyments are derived from other sources. Perceiving in them no desire to enjoy themselves in modes similar to ours, such as rushing about from one place to another, congregating together in throngs, he will suppose them deprived of so many mental faculties or qualifications.

Seeing them preferring to stay at home, and, instead of enjoying such things as the theatre, opera, concert-room, or ball-room, confining themselves to slothful and ignoble indolence behind the walls and lattices of the Harem, he will conclude that the Harem contains attractions suited to the low moral level which must coincide with the supposed incapacity to enjoy what is refined or estimable. Forgetting, or not knowing, that "Harem" is "home," and unconscious of the associations connected with it—of the concentration in one spot of security, protection, filial duties, paternal authority, love, delicacy of manners, and of intercourse; of a combination, in fact, which it might be considered a successful effort of the imagination to create. Wholly unconscious of those claims, duties, attractions, and occupations, we can account for the Turk's attachment to his Harem only by supposing that sensual gratifications are

concealed behind the mystery that envelopes it; and we therefore distrust any observations, and disregard any fact, that tends to an opposite conclusion.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

STATE OF WOMEN—THEIR INFLUENCE ON DOMESTIC MANNERS AND NATIONAL CHARACTER — COMPARATIVE MORALITY OF THE EAST AND THE WEST.

We believe women in the East to exist in fear and trembling of their lords and masters. I, however, have been convinced of the reverse: on the best, in this case, of all testimonies—that of the ladies themselves.

I shall allow a Turkish lady to speak for herself, and expose, in her own words, her opinions on that subject.

"In what," says Fatmé Hanum, "is our position inferior to that of men? If we do not mix in their common society, they do not mix in ours; and the loss is assuredly on their side. A husband labours to gain his fortune, his wife to spend it. A woman shares in all the advantages, privileges, and honours of her husband's state, and even with more splendour than that which he himself enjoys. Is he rich, and has he his Selamlik crowded with attendants? Her apartments are no less thronged, and she is no less observed and waited upon. Is he a Vizir? does he

receive the visits of the grandees of the empire? His wife receives the ladies of the grandees, and his patronage is dispensed by her through her female friends. Does a husband attend the levee of his sovereign? so does his wife;* and, moreover, she pays her court to the various Sultans† and Caduns of the palace, whose favour a grandee can only arrive at through his wife.

"A Turkish lady is independent of the political dangers that assail her husband, except through him.‡ Her life, her person, her property, even her establishment, is sacred and secure. Her tongue is free and uncontrolled; and neither husband, pasha, nor sultan, could dare to interfere with its use.

"If the husband has the faculty of divorcing his wife, the wife also can divorce the husband;§ and the mother of a son is absolute mistress.

* At the Sultan's levee of ladies, they are all unveiled.

† The Sultans (not Sultanas), of the female sex, are the daughters, sisters, and aunts of the sovereign. It is the common title of every member of the family. The chief of the state is termed Padischah; but the holder of the office, in the title attached to his name, is not distinguished from the rest of his family.

‡ The wife of a Mollah was, however, recently exiled to Boussa; but she was a most notorious politician and intriguer. Every body laughed; but every body said, "It is well done!"

§ The occupier of the highest legal post in the empire lives at present in disconsolate widowhood, being abandoned by his wife, said to be the most lovely person in Constantinople. He was most distractedly attached to her; but, taking a dislike to him, she left him; and all the power of the law and of passion could not bring her back.

"In all the practices of religion, there is a perfect equality between men and women: prayers are the same for both; the title of Chodga is common to both; so is that of Hadji. The privileges of the pilgrimage are common to both.

"The women have as much freedom as the men, and much more enjoyment in excursions, parties of pleasure, visiting, shopping, and going to the bath.

"A woman's property is as secure as that of a man. A wife's fortune is her own, and does not, as amongst you, become the property of her husband.

"The women receive as much, and the same education as the men.*

"The women are treated by the men with a respect which still they do not always show in return;† and when a woman addresses a man, he reverently casts his eyes on the ground.

* The number of girls attending the public schools is hardly inferior to that of the boys. Among the names of the most celebrated living poets figure those of three Khanums. One of them, Perishek Khanum, during the reign of Sultan Mustafa, acted as his private secretary. Mehemet Ali Pasha's secret correspondence is carried on by two female secretaries.

† The Seraskier Pasha, the first man in the empire, and the patron (or father, they having been his slaves,) of the two sons-in-law of the Sultan, sits not in the presence of Gulis Khanum, until told to do so. She is the sister of the celebrated Hassan Pasha, the patron of the Seraskier. This proof of the superior sway which family relationships, even when only fictitious, exercise on the most elevated positions of the state, indicates the weight and power of home and family—of that circle of which woman is the centre.

"In what, then, are we the slaves of our husbands? In what are we inferior to the women of Europe? Is it because the men do not stare at us impudently in the face, and through quizzing-glasses? You talk of your great advantages in the selection of husbands and wives; but are your marriages happier than ours, and have you the means of separating if you do not agree? And who would care for a husband who goes, giving his arm, and giggling and laughing, with the women? and what husbands can love a wife that other men can finger and twirl about?"

It is an old story, that there is no disputing tastes. But from this inquiry one result appears as nearly certain—that the female sex in this, as in other parts of the world, carry the sceptre in their hands, though it is called a distaff.*

In this *plaidoyer*, every allusion to polygamy has been artfully excluded; and certainly the Harem presents a very scene when its authority, and the heart of its master, are divided by two or more rival queens. But, even then, the scenes of discord and the storms of passion are not such as our fancies would portray, or our manners warrant. The general habits, the constraining presence of a numerous retinue, which can never be excluded, prevent the throbbing of the heart from glowing on the cheek, and the tempest of the

* It is no trifling prerogative of the sex, that the servant or the slave can marry the master or his son, without exciting animadversion or entailing reproach on her helpmate or his family.

breast from escaping by the tongue. The passions, it is said, that are suppressed are half subdued; and the Turkish wife, who could not tolerate the slightest wanderings of her spouse if the object of it is illegitimate, and whose rage in that case knows neither bounds nor moderation, is obliged quietly to submit to share all her prerogatives with a legitimate rival.

On the subject of polygamy, a European has all the advantage in discussion with a Turkish woman, because her feelings are decidedly on the side of her antagonists; but then she has a tremendous power of reply, in the comparison of the practical effects of the two systems, and in the widely-spread rumours of the heartlessness and the profligacy of Europe.*

All the convictions of our habits and laws stand in hostile array against the country where the principle of polygamy is admitted into the laws of the state. But yet, while we reproach Islamism with polygamy, Islamism may reproach us with practical polygamy, which, unsanctioned by law, and reproved by custom, adds degradation of the mind to dissoluteness of morals.

Although polygamy is permitted by the laws of Mahomet, that permission does not alter the proportions of men and women. While, therefore, the law of nature renders this practice an impossi-

* In European Turkey, in Asia Minor, in Central Asia, Bokhara, Persia, and even in dissolute Egypt, the Foundling Hospitals of Europe are invariably a subject of inquiry and astonishment.

bility as regards the community, it is here still further restrained among the few who have the means of indulging in it, both by the domestic unquiet that results from it, and by the public censure and reprobation of which it is the object.*

The morality of the East results from many causes. The easy circumstances of the people—the simplicity of their minds—the attractions and the ties of their peculiar domestic habits; and it may in part be due, as I have heard it argued by men of the law, to the permission to marry more wives than one, and to the faculty of divorce on the plea of aversion.† They reason thus: Among the wealthy, and the more indifferent to public opinion, who constitute the higher portions of every society, is not to be found the constancy and the unity of affections which result in the mass of a nation from the difficulties and the toils, and, consequently, from the moderation and virtue, of humble life. If the law, therefore, is so severe and prohibitive that the higher and wealthier classes will overstep it, they infringe, as regards themselves, their feelings of duty, and exhibit a theme for scandal, and an example for imitation. But if the law enables, in some degree, those passions to be gratified which it does not succeed in restraining, it leaves the power of conscience intact, and the authority of law supreme. In Russia, you

* A case of polygamy was unknown in Candia, amidst a population of 40,000 Mussulmans.

† The Protestants of Hungary admit the plea of "irrevocabile odium."

have by law strict and irrevocable monogamy; the wealthy break the law—the law loses its moral power, the people, in this respect, their conscientiousness.* In Turkey, some hundreds, or at the utmost, throughout the Empire, some thousands of men, have more than one wife. There is no scandal thence resulting, and constancy to a single mate is the general character.

Some may be startled by the mere mention of the word polygamy; but polygamy is not denounced by the inspired writings—the patriarchs practised it.

Have those who speak of the triumphs of Islamism, as resulting from the unbounded gratification of sensual lusts, which, if offered to its followers, and who denounce polygamy as the source of depopulation and weakness in the Turkish empire, ever dreamt of comparing the moral statistics of this country and of Europe? Have they compared the amount of sensual gratification indulged in London and Constantinople? Have they estimated the frightful mass of misery and degradation pressing so directly on the sources of population in the former capital? Have they compared, in the two

* The general morality of the Greeks in Turkey (those of the Fanar, and of the higher orders, excepted,) is not less remarkable than that of the Turks, and their ecclesiastical laws are the same as those of Russia: the practice, however, is different. If the bishop in Turkey refuses to grant a divorce when sought by both parties, because contrary to the canon, he is very soon informed that, if he does not, the parties will apply the Cadi.

cities, the numbers of females reduced to the most abject state of human misery, and rendered useless to society; and of unknown beings, cast in helpless infancy on the charity of strangers, and bearing, through life, an indelible stigma of reproach and infamy; themselves a witness to the corruption, or the faulty legislation of the country in which it was their misfortune to see the day? England, we believe, is the most moral country in Europe; and we every day hear the revolting exhibition which our public places present, quoted as a proof of that superior morality. We may find enough in M. Dumont's Tables to satisfy us, for any practical purpose, as to the morality of France. Italy, Spain, Germany, have only to be mentioned, to make us turn elsewhere for samples of domestic virtue or public morality. And yet, throughout the whole of these countries, you hear the Turks reproached and denounced as immoral and profligate!

If I were required to state that which struck me in Turkey as its most salient character, I should unquestionably answer—morality; and I think that, if not the importance of the difference, at least the fact of the contrast, will be admitted by any one who will take the trouble of comparing the impressions received by a Turk in Europe, and by a European in Turkey. The first will not be a week in any of our towns, without coming to the knowledge of, if not brought into contact with, dissoluteness and vice of every description. The European will be twenty years in a Turkish town, without seeing

anything of the kind, and he will find it impossible, if so disposed, to have his curiosity gratified.* It may be, as it has been so often said, that as regards the intercourse between the sexes, this is the result of the constraint put upon both parties; but still the restraint is of a moral, never of a physical nature. There are no Duennas appointed by jealous husbands; no men in Turkey lock up their wives; indeed, locks for any purpose are rare. Daughters are not placed in boarding-schools surrounded by high walls. The restraint in question, is that of continual existence in the presence of the family. Among the higher orders, no man can do anything in secret, or frequent, in private, places where he would be ashamed to be seen in public. It is the same with the women. The general feelings of integrity tend to maintain morality. It is further protected by the public censure, which attaches no less to men than to women. Indeed, it falls on the former in a heavier degree; for they say, "He should have known better." No honour is to be derived from triumphing over female weakness. But what virtue can be compared to that which, without precepts or struggle, rises spontaneously from the simplicity of the af-

* I restrict this, of course, to *Turkish* towns. The stranger will, God knows, find vice and corruption enough, of every description, at Pera and Galata; but these are *Frank* quarters. Let him go to the Turkish quarters of Constantinople, and he will seek in vain for any abode which it would be disgraceful to enter. Nor will he perceive any instance or indication of the street vices, or of the coarse and boisterous enjoyments of continental rabble, and of insular gentlemen.

fections? And such I conceive to be the virtue of the Turks. The men see no women but their wives, and think of no others. The women only know their husbands, and are wholly occupied with them. Their affections are, therefore, more fully set on each other, and there is neither distraction nor suspicion.

Again, the intercourse between the various grades of society is friendly and affectionate. The domestic and the social existence equally develope the affections; and man's happiness resides in his affections.

Women stand higher by the Mussulman law than they do in the Roman, and, consequently, in the European codes and customs derived from that great mother of Western legislation. The privileges and advantages of a class of society depend chiefly on the laws regarding property, which imperceptibly, but steadily, from century to century, confer influence and power to those favoured in the distribution. It is most essential to the comprehending of the relative position of Mussulman and Christian women, to compare their legal rights as regards property.

Islamism admits of no rights of primogeniture, and distributes (deducting one-third, of which the father is allowed freely to dispose,) the fortune of the parent equally among all the children; two shares to the males, and one to the females; and in every remove of kindred the same proportion is observed. Here, then, is a difference made against women. But it will be observed, that as there are

no rights of primogeniture by which the eldest male absorbs the whole fortune, the Eastern daughter stands in a position relatively higher than the European daughter of an ancient family. This distribution of the property is a great prop to the domestic union and happiness of Eastern families.

It is, however, with respect to marriage, that the Mussulman woman is especially favoured. The husband, instead of expecting a dowry, has to give one. She also receives a portion from her father, which goes to the husband, one-third being set aside for the use of the wife. Thus are husband and father mutually obliged to contribute to secure, for the woman who becomes a wife, an independence, over which neither are allowed to retain subsequent control; although, by this copartnership, the interest of both is kept alive, and combined in the object they are bound to cherish Here is revealed that depth of thought which bursts upon one, when pondering over the laws of Mahomet: invariably do you find them directed to the formation of the character. It is to a similar effect produced on the minds of his followers, that is to be attributed that unbounded devotion to the man who never *explained* himself; and who has won and retained the convictions of so many millions, during so many centuries, in religion, custom, law, and politics, without using a syllogism, or pretending to a miracle!

The property of married women remains under

their own control; their husband cannot touch it, nor is it liable for their debts. The widow, in the partition at her husband's death, receives the third of the dowry given by her father, the whole of the dowry given by her husband, and, from the fortune of her husband, from a fourth to an eighth, according to the relationship of the remaining heirs. Any property that was hers before, or that may have fallen to her during her husband's lifetime, remains her own.

As regards divorce, women have, by law, nearly equal facilities as their husbands, in relieving themselves from ties which they do not cherish; and practically, as regards the Turks, I should say, that women (when of rank and fortune equal to their husbands) do exercise that power more than the men, and hold it over their husbands as a check on polygamy. This faculty of divorce may appear to us prejudicial to morals; but I have no hesitation in saying, that if you withdraw from Eastern society, as at present constituted, the faculty of divorce, morals and happiness would suffer in an incalculable degree. Where intercourse between the sexes is so much restricted before marriage, the faculty of separation afterwards, should reciprocal antipathies arise, becomes indispensable. It is so more particularly in the domestic circle of the East, because the family lives so entirely within itself, with so few enjoyments beyond those which its mutual relations and common sympathies afford, that disagreement between its principal members would annihilate, to them, a great portion of

the value of life. A third, and conclusive reason, for the faculty of divorce, is the prevention of polygamy. No woman will willingly share her conjugal rights with a partner; and while the law gives her husband the power of giving her one or more partners, it secures to her an independent fortune and position, and the facility of quitting him; which, combined with the opinions of society, and the ties and sympathies of kindred, place in the hands of the wife, when a woman of rank, the means of controlling her husband's acts, when her charms have ceased to possess over him the despotism which the fair of every region, and of every sect, seem to have alike the power and the will to exercise.

Men who are fearful of submitting themselves to this control, marry slaves, or women much below themselves. Such cases are, of course, by no means common.

Barrenness, however, greatly changes the lot and position of women. The contempt in which it is held, in public estimation, deprives of consideration a woman so situated. The Eastern's chief enjoyment is children; a childless home is a curse; a childless wife a disgrace; a childless old age, a prospect of loneliness and contempt. A childless woman, therefore, loses her prerogatives; and, however connected, she has to submit, without murmur, to the introduction of another wife into the Harem, or makes a compromise with her husband, such as that which Sarah made with Abraham.

Such is the general position of women, as regards possessions and civil rights, in the eye of the Mussulman law, the principles of which I have endeavoured concisely to sketch in their practical and moral bearings. I have yet to notice that portion of the penal code which bears on the social position of women—the proof and punishment of infidelity.

The basis of all Mussulman institutions, ideas, and customs, is the hearth, the home—that is, the Harem—the one spot on earth, which each man holds his own—secret and "forbidden." It is his wife, in whose behalf this sanctuary is created, it exists only in her, and it *is* whithersoever she goes. The honour of woman—the centre of this homestead, and constituting the chief element of Eastern society, must naturally be guarded by the severest penalties of the law, as of public opinion; and it is so. The punishment for adultery is death—not the death that is inflicted by a single, and a salaried executioner, but death at the hands of an indignant people, inflicted—not with the sword or the axe, instruments ennobled by associations with national honour and glory, and with civil power and justice—but by a multitude, a rabble—her own sex—children—her relatives—her former playmates—who gather the stones from the wayside, to cast at the adulteress?

But while a doom, thus appalling, is pronounced—a doom, tragic and poetic—so illustrative of the scope and character of Eastern legislation, speaking to the imagination, rather than

acting on the fears, of men, and effective, by the character it creates, rather than by the restraint it imposes—while this doom is recorded against infidelity, it stands rather as the expression of public abhorrence, than as a law which is to be carried into execution. The testimony required is such as in scarcely any supposable case can be obtained; and the punishment decreed against an unsuccessful accuser, such as effectually to deter from accusation. The annals of the Ottoman empire record but a single instance of punishment for adultery, which occurred ten centuries after the promulgation of the law; and which so aroused public indignation against the judge by whom it was pronounced, that he fell a victim himself to a similar fate to that he had awarded, inflicted upon him by popular vengeance!

We daily observe the deteriorating effects, on young minds, of the mixture in promiscuous society. The best results of education on the mind are thus endangered at all times—often sacrificed; and generally impaired by that thronging together, which has become a necessity of our existence. The absence, in a nation, of such assemblages, proves a sufficiency in itself, without these external and dangerous expedients; and entirely removes the evil that there exists, and the contamination that thence proceeds.

All these causes, and others besides—in their direct tendency—in their reaction on each other, in the restraint imposed by the national character they produce, would lead one to suppose great mo-

rality in this people, if the fact were unascertained, and suffice to account, on very plain and intelligible grounds, for that which is known to exist. But all these are intimately associated with the *home of the East*—that home which, to them, is more than country; and has given, to the patriotism that includes it, though deprived of external props or visible bonds, so energetic a calmness, and so long a life.

This domestic happiness and virtue is, however, not common to all parts of the East. It is peculiarly Turkish; and the deep root which the love of home (not the spot of birth, but the hearth, wherever placed) has struck into that people, cannot be better demonstrated than by its capacity to overcome the effects of the continual introduction as slaves, or wives, of perhaps the most dissolute races on the face of the earth—the Georgian and the Arab. Love of home could not survive the loss of simplicity of mind, and of singleness of affections. The Georgians bring neither with them; and if, with the Africans, they have not corrupted the Turkish character, it is only because the combined effect of education, manners, custom, and religion, are concentrated in that one focus, so strongly as to preserve its character unchanged from the remotest period of history down to the present day, under a greater variety of circumstances, vicissitudes, and temptations, than any other people has ever been exposed to.

These characters of the Turkish mind and morals are not only striking in comparing them with the

other races that inhabit the same soil, but also in the immediate change that is visible in those that attach themselves to the same stock, admit the same opinions, and adopt the same manners, by their conversion to the faith which the Turks at the present day profess. To this fact I can bear unequivocal testimony; and, though the change may in part be owing to the municipal character of Islamism, I should be principally inclined to account for it by the assimilation of these populations to the domestic morals of the Turks.

I may here appear to be attributing events of magnitude to very insignificant and insufficient causes; but what can be so important in any mass as the unit—in any combination, as the element? Is not the nation an aggregate of families?—the national character, is it not that which is common to each individual?—public opinion, the aggregate of those opinions which each member of the community entertains? But national character and public opinion, are they not the basis of all laws, institutions, and events? And yet how relatively inactive are they not amongst us; seeing that, in all public matters, the energy of each man's mind is exerted against the convictions of his brother, his neighbour, and his fellow-citizen? In Turkey, family and nation differ but in numbers; character and opinion know no distinction of public and individual: they are one and the same. The character of the family and the opinions of the man are the character and the opinions of the nation; and no one who has looked steadily into their

minds, can disregard the minutest circumstance that affects one man; for it affects all; and all in the same degree and in the same manner.

In expressing the admiration with which the Turkish character inspires me, I must restrict that praise entirely to its domestic and passive existence —to the Turk—son, husband, father, master, neighbour; whatever qualities he may possess flow from these characters. He is brave, because he defends his home; he is docile, because he had a father; he is not factious, because the unity of the state includes and represents that of the family; he is faithful to treaties, because he lives well with his friends; he has retained for centuries, by means invisible, dominion over extensive regions and populations, different in character, strange in tongue, and opposed in interests, because he sought to interfere with their customs no more than he would constrain the individual disposition of his family, and because they have been taught uniformity of demeanour towards him without prejudice to their diversity of nature, and because he did not treat as a judge, or resent as a partisan, the differences of opinion, or the violence of acts, which would have rendered, if so treated, hatred irrevocable, and opposition systematic.

The Turk—agriculturist, seaman, general mechanic, or professor—is as far below other European nations as he is above any of them in his domestic virtues or his social integrity. He exists, therefore, he has a place among nations, only in consequence of these which, again, are not the result of principle,

but of habit; and of habits—the impress of which is derived from the Harem. This empire has resisted overwhelming power and wrong; but now a more fearful trial awaits it; that is, not so much the fact of adopting other manners, as the fact of change. The change of habits will not lead, supposing it were desirable, to the introduction of those of Europe, but merely to the destruction of their own. A reaction against Europe may finally be the result of hopes disappointed, and of imitation unsuccessful—when they will no longer possess a national character to fall back upon.

The only changes that can be beneficial to Turkey, must come invisibly and slowly; and such benefits reside solely in individual instruction, in rendering literature popular and useful, in the extension of the principles, and in the application of the results of science. Wherever manners, customs, laws, institutions, are touched, evil is done, and danger created. It is only after *they* have become acquainted thoroughly with Europe, that they can know what to imitate. The changes which affect the manners of a people, when produced by external causes, must be destructive of its moral and domestic qualities. Those trivial modes and habits which are the language of morality, becoming confused; a confusion of ideas takes place, which lowers the tone of the mind. The old habits are lost; the new ones, be they perfection itself, are mere ineffective forms. And thus, wherever Easterns and Europeans come into contact in numbers, the degradation of both ensues. The Europeans, being possessed of greater

military and political power, the Easterns have suffered most from this contact. The standard of morality among the Europeans being lower, the tendency of their superiority is naturally towards the extinction of Eastern character, and with it institutions and independence.*

A work, the fruit of thirty years' labour, has recently appeared on the Ottoman empire. It is from the pen of the most popular of Oriental scholars; has been, or is now being, translated into all European languages; and is, and will be, considered the standard authority on all Eastern matters. I allude to M. Von Hammer's "History of the Ottoman Empire."

The reader who has taken an interest in the subject of these pages, or in the opinions they express, may naturally inquire how far these views are borne out by the opinions of M. Von Hammer; and on no point, probably, will that desire be so likely to arise as in respect of the state of women in Turkey, and in the East. I am sorry to say that the opinions of M. Von Hammer do not support those I have expressed; indeed his are the very reverse; and, since I have the disadvantage of differing from M. Von Hammer, my only resource is to avow the difference, and to meet it.

M. Von Hammer gives the Arabs credit for chivalrous devotion to the fair sex,† but reproaches

* Of this, Greece is a melancholy example.

† The respect paid by Turks to women is not, now-a-days, to be found among the Arabs. The Arabian population inhabiting

the Turks with reducing women to the lowest state, denying to them privileges, distinction, and respect, and considering them, in some degree, as domestic animals. He does not conceive, however, that Islamism has degraded the female character, since he admits of high chivalrous feeling in the propagators of Islamism; but he believes that Turkish character and opinion have reduced the weaker sex to that humble and lowly condition; and this opinion he confirms by the etymology of the title Cadun, which he derives from a term connected with the household.

Having stated my own opinions, and, I may add, my positive knowledge, respecting the social station occupied by women in Turkey, I leave to the reader to weigh what I have advanced against the statements and opinions of M. Von Hammer; but I cannot allow the argument which he draws from a supposed etymology to pass without refutation.

It would be supposed, by the reader unacquainted with Turkey, that *Cadun* was equivalent to Madame, and was the term of respect generally coupled with feminine names. This is not the case. Cadun is "*The* Lady of the House." The term synonymous to Madame is *Hanum* (*Khanum*), derived from *Khan* or Lord. Among the Turks, from time immemorial, this peculiarity is to be found—a peculiarity which ought not to have escaped the research of the learned and amiable orientalist—that there is no distinction of gender, that men and women are

towns is dissolute and licentious; among such a people no respect for women can exist.

addressed in precisely the same forms of speech and manner, nor is there even distinction in the terms or pronouns. The original lordly title of Aga was common to men and women. Timour's wife, one of the most celebrated characters of Tartar story. was Touman *Aga.* Subsequently, this title became common—was applied in the same extent as "Monsieur"—and, in consequence, the Turks sought a more respectful designation for the sex, and adopted that of Beg, or Bey; and at this day, in India, this title remains appropriated to women—Begum (My Lord). Bey, amongst the Turks who spread westward beyond the Caspian, sank to a lower station, when they adopted, as the loftiest designation, the title Khan, which they found in these regions; and from that time the word Hanum (My Lord) came to be conferred on all women, without distinction of grade, or of married or single. Thus, the style of address is Perischek Hanum, Gulis Hanum, &c. The possessive pronoun *My,* added to the title when applied to women, is as *Mon*sieur, *Mon*-signore; so also, in English, in this incipient stage of courtliness, though we have not yet framed a word to convey the same feeling of respect, we do say *My* Lord. The title Khan is given only to men of very distinguished birth, or in the very highest style of Eastern composition; whilst it is given at all times to all women above the grade of those engaged in manual labour.

In conversation, the title joined to a name is not used: you do not, for instance, render "Yes, Madam," by "*evet Hanum,*" but by "*evet Effen-*

*dim*"—the title, Effendi, derived from the Greeks, being used indiscriminately to men and women, although it has become the specific designation of men who, while being instructed in letters, are not of the rank of Beys.

Thus it would appear that the social title applied to women, and the equality used in the common forms of speech, far from bearing out M. Von Hammer's assertion, distinctly prove the reverse. They show that, among the Turks, doubts have not been entertained of absolute equality of personal consideration between the two sexes, and that the differences that are made imply special honour and respect paid to the fair. M. Von Hammer ought also not to have forgotten, that, in the first collision between the *chivalrous* Arabs and the Turks, so contemptuous, as he assumes, in their treatment of women, the latter were commanded by *a Queen!*

Differing so completely on such a fundamental question as the relative state of one half of the population, it may naturally be expected that on most other points our opinions are not identical. I deeply deplore, what I consider, so unfortunate a bias in the mind of the historian of Turkey: because it necessarily follows that, in treating of facts, those circumstances assume a more prominent position, which appear to confirm the writer's preconceptions, and are also more readily credited. On such grave questions as religion, administration, constitutional principles, national opinion, prospects, and means of restoration of that empire,

there is not an opinion of M. Von Hammer's to which I would subscribe, with, perhaps, the single exception of the Dragomans; but there M. Von Hammer was practically acquainted with his subject, having been a Dragoman himself.

A knowledge of the East is, I conceive, at the present time, a necessary element in the study of Europe; and, in illustration of the importance of such knowledge, I would instance the facility afforded to a man conversant with the East, of estimating the powers of mind of the European statesmen who have had to judge or to act with reference to it. The following quotation is interesting, no less as affording new means of judging of the mind of Napoleon, as from the light his opinions throw on this subject.

"Mahomet* restricted the number of wives to four; no Eastern legislator had allowed so few. One may well inquire why he did not suppress polygamy, as Christianity had done (?); for it is very certain that nowhere in the East is the number of women superior to that of men. * * * * * These countries, being inhabited by men of various colours, polygamy may have been the only means to have prevented persecution. The legislator may have thought that, to prevent the white from becoming enemies of the black, the black of the white, and the copper-coloured of both, it was necessary to make them all members of the same family, and thus to struggle against the disposition of man to hate all that

* Memoirs of Napoleon, vol. v. p. 99, note.

is not himself. If ever we intend to give liberty to the black, and establish perfect equality in our colonies, we must authorise polygamy. Then will the different colours, forming a portion of the same family, be confounded in the opinion of each. Without this, satisfactory results will never be obtained."

It certainly is a very strange thing to observe, and a very difficult thing to account for, that in the East neither difference of colour, nor of rank, class, or station, creates difference of feeling or aversion between man and man, in opposition to the universal experience of European nations, who speak so much of philanthropy and liberty. It comes also singularly to countenance this idea of Napoleon, that the distinctions of rank are externally marked, by attributing to the persons so distinguished the character of "brother," "father," &c.; in fact, some *family* character or tie.

One of the greatest contrasts that strikes me, between the West and the East, is the absence of the slights and heart-burnings which occupy so large a portion of our existence, and which are, indeed, the shadows of our life. They beset us in our early childhood; they invade our family circle; they rule our social meetings; prosperity is not free from them, and adversity owes to them its sting. Now, in the East, you never see a man slighted; every individual has a fixed position; the child as well as the grown man, in the school-room as well as in public society. There are none of those public throngings, where distinction of the one is only

gained by the slighting of the many; which assemblages are the result of a great amount of vanity and *amour propre* in a nation, and tend to reproduce their causes. It is from these causes that the greater part of our restlessness, and of our activity, proceed. That activity has produced manifold effects, both good and bad,—effects, in either character, unknown in Turkey. On the one hand, the progress of science—which, however, I take to be by no means incompatible with the domestic existence of the East; on the other, the complication of laws, the oppositions of opinion, and the accidents and necessities of the material and political state of the Western world, which necessitate, in the individual, an immense amount of activity, expended uselessly in counteracting the effects of the activity of other men. The Turk never gets up, but when he has somewhere to go; never works, but when he has something to do; never speaks, but when he has something to say: he entertains no opinion without a necessity and a right;* he is, therefore, the very antithesis of a modern European. He can sit still, hold his tongue, and sit by himself, without suffering from irritation, and without affecting to despise his fellow-creatures. If he is careless of the

* Sir William Temple, speaking of the Dutch, says, "There are diseases" (melancholy vapours and imaginary sufferings) "too refined for this people and country, who are well when they are not ill; pleased when they are not troubled, and content to seek their happiness in the common ease and enjoyments of life; not amusing themselves with the more speculative contrivances of passion or refinements of pleasure."

misfortunes of the morrow, he enjoys the existence of to-day; and though no man so pugnaciously defends that which he does possess, yet he never puts himself in the alternative of endangering what he has, for the chance of obtaining something better. His domestic—his Harem existence forms his mind; and in that mind is to be found his social and his political character; and the words (however correct) that may be applied to the description of the political state, without the comprehension of his domestic character, are forms without substance.

It may be very reasonably supposed, that the seclusion of women from male society would give to the latter that coarseness which in Europe is felt to be counteracted by the mixture of the sexes. But this proceeds from the peculiar circumcumstance, that we make a difference in our social intercourse between men and women, which the Easterns do not, while they pay as much deference to men as we do to the fair sex. Women and men are addressed by the same title—the same modes of salutation; and a gentleman comports himself towards another gentleman, as in Europe he would comport himself towards a lady.

But although men and women do not mix in general society, the sexes live in the constant presence of each other in the Harem; and, in the most intimate family circles, a greater degree of decorum is observed there than in the public meetings of Europe. These are the ties which have held together their empire so long against all hope and all belief. The patriotism of this people

is to be found in their domesticity, which the seclusion of the Harem has veiled from the sight, which has been preserved from that very circumstance, and has given rise to the belief that it did not exist.

In conclusion, I must not omit that the home of the Turk is, in the eye of the law, like the castle of the Englishman; that no officer of justice can enter it, even should the door stand ajar, without express permission; and its inner portion, the Harem, he must not enter at all. While the habitation of the family is thus held sacred, the rights, prerogatives, and authority, which custom, from time immemorial, has granted to it, and which we designate by the term patriarchal, are no less rigidly maintained; but if you never hear of justice interfering between members of a family, in the event of domestic violence or wrong, it is not because the law *sanctions* an authority in relationship superior to the public tribunals, but that in Eastern jurisprudence there is no public *accuser*. The injured party alone has a right to seek justice, and has equally the faculty of dispensing with its decisions. The law does not proclaim an abstract principle of justice, but lends assistance to the injured, when called upon to do so. Should, therefore, the father of a family exceed the bounds of moderation or justice in punishing a son, servant, or slave, the idea of judicial interference would never present itself to any one; not that the injured would not receive support, but because the law could not take its course unless on the demand

of the injured, who would be prevented by public opinion, if not by habit and feeling, from appealing against his own blood.

Napoleon, in Egypt, was struck and puzzled by this state of things: he confounded two very distinct points—paternal authority, and security of a man's house from the intrusion of officers of police. The father of a family, according to the code of Islamism, has no judicial authority of any kind whatever: he can retain neither wife, child, servant, nor slave, except by free consent; and yet in reality he possesses a power which, to those who do not feel as they do, appears the result of despotism in the parent, sanctioned by the laws.

The explanation which I have here given, will, I think, suffice to show, that if the agents of authority are refused access to the house of a Mussulman, or of the Christian and other inhabitants of Mussulman countries, it is not because their control would interfere with any judicial authority exercised by the head of the family over its inmates.

"Every father of a family in the East (*Mémoires de Napoleon*, t. v. p. 103) possesses over his wife, his children, and his slaves, an absolute power, which the public authority cannot modify. There is no example of a Pasha, or an officer of any description, penetrating into the interior of a family, to trouble the chief in the exercise of his authority. It is a thing that would shock the national customs, manners, and character. The Easterns consider themselves masters in their houses; and every agent of government, who has put in execution a

decree against them, waits until they quit their homes, or sends for them."

This inviolability of the homestead, treated as a species of despotism, the Englishman will probably understand in another light. Indeed, this principle and practice is one of the most remarkable points of resemblance between the English and the Turkish character and institutions. The Turkish is the only European language which possesses, in the word "Harem," a synonyme for "Home," but it implies a great deal more.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### CONCLUSION.

I MUST now conclude this journal, leaving the reader at Scodra, although I intended carrying him to Constantinople; but the subjects I have touched on have grown under my pen; and, in reconsidering what I have said, I have to regret the necessity of excluding much that appears to me important, or the inability to convey more in the space allotted to me.

My object has been to make the reader acquainted with the feelings and habits of the country. I have, with this view, chosen the narration of a journey, as furnishing most naturally occasions for such intercourse. If I have succeeded in any degree by awakening interest among my compatriots in those populations and countries—if I have removed any unjust conclusion, any feeling of hostility, of aversion, or of indifference—I conceive that so far I have gained a political advantage; for it is through errors of judgment, arising from misrepresentation of facts, that national power decays. In so far, and

in this sense alone, has this work any connexion with politics. As, however, there may be those who, having proceeded thus far, might be desirous of considering the state of the Turkish empire in a more political point of view, I have added in the Appendix the last production of Mr. Blacque, the editor of the " Moniteur Ottoman." Unfortunately I am enabled to give but one half of his essay.

# APPENDIX.

PROTOCOL, No. 1, *of the Conference held at the Foreign Office, on the 3rd of February*, 1830.

Present:

The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, France, and Russia.

THE Plenipotentiaries of the three Courts having assembled at the Foreign Office:—

At the opening of the Conference, the Plenipotentiaries of His Britannic Majesty and of his Most Christian Majesty express to the Plenipotentiary of his Imperial Majesty the desire to know in what point of view he regards the tenth article of the treaty recently signed at Adrianople between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, which article relates to the affairs of Greece.

*The Plenipotentiary of his Imperial Majesty declares that the tenth article of the treaty in question does not invalidate the rights of the Emperor's allies, nor clog the deliberations of the ministers assembled in conference at London*, nor oppose any obstacle to the arrangements

which the three Courts may, by common agreement, judge to be most advantageous, and best adapted to the circumstances of the case.

After this declaration, the Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty communicates to the Conference a joint despatch, hereunto annexed,—Lit. A., by which the Ambassadors of Great Britain and France at Constantinople forward a declaration to the Porte, dated the 9th of September, which is likewise annexed,—Lit. B., and which announces, "That the Porte, having already adhered to the Treaty of London, now further promises and pledges itself to the representatives of the powers who signed the said treaty, to subscribe entirely to all the decisions which the Conference of London shall adopt with respect to its execution."

Upon the reading of this document, the Conference unanimously acknowledges the obligation which is imposed upon it of proceeding, first of all, to the immediate establishment of the armistice by land and by sea, between the Turks and the Greeks.

It is resolved, in consequence, that the Plenipotentiaries of the three Courts at Constantinople, their residents in Greece, and their admirals in the Archipelago, shall receive, without delay, orders to demand and obtain from the contending parties a speedy and entire cessation of hostilities.

For this purpose, the instructions hereunto annexed, —Litt. C. D. E., were concerted and agreed upon for the said Plenipotentiaries and Residents, as well as for the three Admirals; the re-establishment of peace between Russia and the Porte allowing the Russian Admiral to take part in the operations of his Colleagues of England and of France.

These preliminary resolutions being agreed upon, the members of the Conference finding that the Ottoman declarations place them in a situation to concert the measures

which may appear to them most desirable in the actual state of things; and being desirous of introducing into the former arrangements of the Alliance whatever improvements might be best adapted to assure new pledges of stability to the work of peace on which it is employed, decided, by common agreement, upon the following articles:—

§ 1. Greece shall form an independent State, and shall enjoy all the rights, political, administrative, and commercial, attached to complete independence.

§ 2. In consideration of these advantages granted to the new State, and in deference to the desire expressed by the Porte to obtain the reduction of the frontiers fixed by the Protocol of the 22nd of March, the line of demarcation of the limits of Greece shall take its departure from the mouth of the river *Aspropotamos*, ascend that river as far as the latitude of lake *Angelo Castro*, and traversing that lake, as well as those of *Vrachori* and *Saurovitza*, it shall strike the Mount *Artolina*, from whence it shall follow the ridge of Mount *Oxas*, the valley of *Calouri*, and the ridge of Mount *Œta*, as far as the Gulf of *Zeitoun*, which it shall reach at the mouth of the *Sperchius*.

All the territories and countries situated to the south of this line, which the Conference has marked upon the map hereunto annexed,—Lit. F., shall belong to Greece; and all the countries and territories situated to the north of this line shall continue to form part of the Ottoman empire.

There shall likewise belong to Greece the whole of the island of *Negropont*, with the *Devil's Islands*, and the island of *Skyros*, and the islands antiently known by the name of *Cyclades*, including the island of *Amorgo*, situated between the 36th and 39th degrees of north latitude, and the 26th degree of longitude east of the meridian of Greenwich.*

* This decision proved *impracticable*. It was offered as a com-

§ 3. The Greek Government shall be monarchical, and hereditary according to the order of primogeniture. It shall be confined to a prince, who shall not be capable of being chosen from among those of the families reigning in the States that signed the treaty of the 6th July, 1827, and who shall bear the title of Sovereign Prince of Greece. The choice of that Prince shall form the object of subsequent communications and stipulations.

§ 4. So soon as the Articles of the present Protocol shall have been conveyed to the knowledge of the parties interested, peace shall be considered as established *ipso facto* between the Ottoman Empire and Greece; and the subjects of the two States shall be reciprocally treated, in regard to the rights of commerce and navigation, as those of other States at peace with the Ottoman empire and Greece.

§ 5. Acts of full and entire amnesty shall be immediately published by the Ottoman Porte and by the Greek Government.

The act of amnesty of the Porte shall proclaim, that no Greek in the whole extent of its dominions shall be liable to be deprived of his property, or in any way disturbed, in consequence of the part which he may have taken in the insurrection of Greece.

The act of amnesty of the Greek Government shall proclaim the same principle in favour of all the Mussulmans or Christians who may have taken part against its cause; and it shall further be understood and promulgated, that the Mussulmans who may be desirous of continuing to inhabit the territories and islands allotted to Greece, shall preserve their properties therein, and invariably enjoy there, with their families, perfect security.

pensation to Turkey for the withdrawal of the previously established *suzérainté* of the Porte over Greece, and the subsequent steps in these strange proceedings were to force on Turkey the contract without its conditions.

§ 6. The Ottoman Porte shall grant to those of its Greek subjects who may be desirous of quitting the Turkish territory, a delay of a year, in order to sell their properties, and to depart freely from the country.

The Greek Government shall allow the same power to the inhabitants of Greece, who may wish to transport themselves to the Turkish territory.

§ 7. All the military and naval forces of Greece shall evacuate the territories, fortresses, and islands which they occupy beyond the line assigned in the second section for the limits of Greece, and shall withdraw behind that line with the least possible delay.

All the Turkish military and naval forces which occupy territories, fortresses, or islands comprised within the limits above mentioned, shall evacuate those islands fortresses, and territories; and shall, in like manner, retire behind the same limits with the least possible delay.

§ 8. Each of the three courts shall retain the power, secured to it by the 6th article of the Treaty of the 6th of July, 1827, of guaranteeing the whole of the foregoing arrangements and articles. The acts of guarantee, if there be any, shall be drawn up separately; the operation and effects of these different acts shall become, in conformity with the above-mentioned article, the object of further stipulations on the part of the high powers. No troops belonging to one of the contracting powers shall be allowed to enter the territory of the new Greek state, without the consent of the two other courts who signed the treaty.

§ 9. In order to avoid the collisions which could not fail to result, under existing circumstances, from bringing Ottoman boundary commissioners and Greek boundary commissioners into contact, when the line of the frontiers of Greece comes to be laid down on the spot, it is agreed that that task shall be entrusted to British, French, and Russian commissioners, and that each of the three courts

shall nominate one. These commissioners, furnished with the instruction hereunto annexed,—Lit. G., shall settle the line of the said frontiers, following, with all possible exactness, the line pointed out in the second section; they shall mark out that line with stakes, and shall draw up two maps thereof, to be signed by them, of which one shall be given to the Ottoman government, and the other to the Greek government. They shall be bound to finish their labours in the space of six months. In case of difference of opinion between the three commissioners, the majority of voices shall decide.

§ 10. The arrangements of the present Protocol shall be immediately communicated to the Ottoman government by the plenipotentiaries of the three courts, who shall be furnished, for this purpose, with the common instruction hereunto annexed,—Lit. H.

The residents of the three courts in Greece shall also receive, on the same subject, the instruction hereunto annexed,—Lit. I.

§ 11. The three courts reserve to themselves to embody the present stipulations in a formal treaty, which shall be signed at London, *be considered as executive of that of 6th July*, 1827, and be communicated to the other courts of Europe, with the invitation to accede thereto, should they judge it expedient.

CONCLUSION.

*Having thus arrived at the close of a long and difficult negociation, the three courts sincerely congratulate themselves on having come to a perfect agreement, in the midst of the most serious and delicate circumstances.*

*The maintenance of their union during such periods offers the best pledge of its permanency; and the three courts flatter themselves that this union, as firm as it*

*is beneficial, will not cease to contribute to the confirmation of the peace of the world.*

(Signed) ABERDEEN.
MONTMORENCY-LAVAL.
LIEVEN.

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*Annex* A. *to the Protocol* No. 1. *of the Conference of the* 3*rd of February,* 1830.

*Joint Despatch of the Ambassadors of Great Britain and France to the Earl of Aberdeen, transmitting the declaration of the Ottoman Porte, of the* 9*th of September,* 1829.

Constantinople, September 9, 1829.

My Lord,

The Sublime Porte being desirous of completely satisfying the wishes of the three courts who signed the treaty of the 6th of July, 1827, and leaving to their impartial equity the entire execution of that treaty, has just delivered to us the declaration of which we transmit to your Excellency, annexed, a faithful and authentic translation. The Porte solemnly engages therein to subscribe to everything that the Conference of London shall determine. Thus is fulfilled, in its essential object, the mission which was entrusted to us by the three high powers: we add that, considering the circumstances, it has appeared to us necessary to transmit to Count Diebitsch Zabalkansky, commanding the Russian army in Roumelia, a like authentic copy of the declaration of the Sublime Porte; which has besides already sent orders to its plenipotentiaries at Adrianople, to make a corresponding notification to those of his Imperial Majesty.

We have the honour, &c.

(Signed) R. GORDON.
C^te^ GUILLEMINOT.

*Annex* B. *to the Protocol* No. 1, *of the Conference of 3rd of February*, 1830.

*Declaration of the Ottoman Porte, dated September 9th*, 1829.

The Sublime Porte declares, that having already adhered to the Treaty of London, it now further promises and pledges itself to the representatives of the powers who signed the *said Treaty*, to subscribe entirely to all the decisions which the Conference of London shall adopt with respect to *its execution*.

*Constantinople, September the 9th*, 1829.

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FROM THE "MONITEUR OTTOMAN."

13th June, 1836. 16 of Safer, 1251.

The English * * * * *, on the appearance of a pamphlet entitled "England, Ireland, and America," has made a sortie, no less violent than unexpected, against the Ottoman government and people.

The * * * *, like all passionate advocates, ignorant of the cause which they plead, has accumulated a mass of exaggerations, in order to spare itself the necessity of reasoning and proofs; it has substituted opprobrium for discussion. Its two articles are the complete summary of all that during ten years has been brought to market in the shape of odium and untruth respecting the Ottoman empire, by the Macfarlanes and other speculators in chronicles, who land in a country, scamper over it like dogs on the scent, and hasten back to sell to a bookseller, for their two months' subsistence, the anecdotes which they have

scraped together as their travelling provisions. Was it decorous in a respectable journal, which occupies an elevated rank in the English press, to re-open on a sudden these long-forgotten sources, in order to foist on Europe the impure productions which she had already once rejected with disgust?

The picture which it draws of Turkey is not even new; it is the re-production of an old description, which has no other importance than as occupying a place in a journal to which credit is attached, and at a moment of importance to the destinies of a vast empire. Assuming as correct the colouring given by the * * * *, however sombre it be, we say, If there be in Turkey misery, depopulation, and anarchy, with whom rests this blame?

You attribute it to its religion—where are your proofs? The accusing party has none to bring forward, but the defendant has proofs which are incontrovertible.

In June, 1826, when the Janissaries revolted for the last time against the innovation of the regular troops, which had been organised by Sultan Mahmoud, the standard of the prophet is unfurled. Religion intervenes, therefore, at this terrible crisis; it is invoked in order to decide against a body which had rebelled against all reform, and against the prince who wishes to change a social state degraded by long abuses, and who attacks the first opposing obstacle. The trial is decisive of the question of the religion of Mahomet. At the summons of the criers, who invoked the aid of the true believers, a hundred thousand men, united under the Mussulman oriflamme, crush to pieces in a few hours the rebels.

Who can misunderstand the meaning of this victory? It is religion that has triumphed; it is religion which, personified in the Sultan, the supreme Pontiff, and in the people, the interpreters by their actions of the religious dogmas, has proclaimed the necessity of reform, and struck

its opponents to the ground. The destruction of the Janissaries was a stroke of policy and of religion united for the same end, viz. that of improvement. And yet how many reminiscences illustrated this still powerful body of the Janissaries! It commenced with the origin of the Ottoman monarchy; its glory was identified with the most splendid conquests of which it had been the most useful instrument—its name alone recalled epochs of renown dear to the nation. The Janissaries had reigned as masters during three hundred years; they had in their favour that consecration of time which continues still to support a power long after it has lost all other aid. Why, then, were they overthrown with a facility which is one of the most remarkable facts of this age?—Why, on the immense surface of this empire, in its most remote provinces, was no single defender to be found whose resistance has called forth their re-establishment? It is because religion was arrayed against them. It condemned their licentiousness and the general disorganisation of which they were the cause, and it could not associate itself with their principle of immobility.

Since the disappearance of this corps, have we seen a single fraction of the population take up arms, at the call of religious inspiration, against the reforms successively introduced by the Sultan? They have been numerous, no one will dispute it; without stopping to discuss their merit, it is sufficient to certify that, as reforms, they would have provoked general opposition, if the argument of the * * * * had been well founded; if religion were an insurmountable barrier to all amelioration.

Away, then, with imputations founded on worn-out declamation, and destitute of every vestige of proof, against a religion which has not yet been sufficiently studied in the institutions and habits it has created, and on which Europe has never enjoyed the means of forming an equit-

able opinion. We do not believe that we are equal to the task of supplying this deficiency, and we have not the pretension to undertake it; but the facts before our eyes require to be described as they strike us. Here, in Turkey, we shall always see effected at pleasure, in the smallest space of time, and by the simple force of reason, that which has elsewhere required ages of struggle and torrents of blood. The Turks owe to their religion an undoubted superiority of intelligence, of good sense, and of equity, which they never fail to display when necessity calls it into action. They fear God, and derive from this ruling sentiment the calm reason, the philosophy, which do not waste themselves in words, but which are shown in their actions. In Christendom, people fear God to a certain extent, but they dread those who intervene between God and society—the churchmen, the powerful, the doctors of all colours, who lead their flocks by ignorance, corruption, or sophisms, who drag society in a thousand opposite ways, without unity, without community of thought, and who, when the day of personal trial arrives, belie their doctrines, and by their example throw doubt on the convictions which they have formed by their lessons.

How comes it, then, that in Turkey there are misery and depopulation? Since Turkey has ceased to make herself feared, since her people, attaching themselves to the soil which she had conquered, have become sedentary and industrious, has Europe ever ceased to persecute her by her political repulsion, and by her religious hatred? Will this be denied by the * * * *, which, hardly thirty days ago, sounded the charge against Turkey, and in its manifesto mingled religion with politics?* If we examine the period of the last century, we shall see the Ottomans almost uninterruptedly engaged in gigantic wars, which

* "We deny that it is possible that England, or that any civilised *Christian* country, can be interested in the support of so odious a despotism. But to suppose any such thing is to libel the British nation.— * * * *

they had not provoked, threatened when they were not attacked, and held by the necessity of defence in a perpetual state of alarm, which is not always war, but which never is peace. Is it, then, amidst the perils of anxiety that the weather-beaten crew resumes its strength? Is it in that perpetual state of crisis, in which blood is shed, that riches are accumulated, and that population increases? *

Has the present age, so vaunted for its intelligence and its toleration, treated Turkey any better? How many blows have been struck at her during thirty years! If we recapitulate them correctly, and add the treasure and the men swallowed up in those struggles in which fanaticism and animosity were not to be found in the ranks of those who fought for their creed, their rights, and their hearths; the riches and population which still remain in Turkey would be the most conclusive argument against the detractors of this country.

The partial insurrections in the Ottoman empire, which have never been anything but the inevitable result of external circumstances, by which all the ties had been loosened, are termed by the * * * * anarchy. Without harping on the word, let us examine the causes of the evil.

There exists in the empire a vassal possessing a fleet, an army, and treasures, who is nominally dependent, but in reality independent. How this power has been acquired by him, and what has been the result to the people whom he governs, is a matter foreign to our present question. But he has made use of these means to hazard an attempt against his master and his country, which has been favoured by success. He is powerful, almost a sovereign; and he

* The *Frankfort Journal* of the 11th of August has the following:—"The truth is, that the whole of the young Turks arrived at the age of marriage are taken for the military service; thus the country is menaced with entire depopulation, in spite of the firmans of the Sultan!" Such, then, is the effrontery of this anti-social Cabinet; and the consequences of its own violence, and of Europe's deluded co-operation, are now quoted and exposed—to cast opprobrium on the Sultan.

may still try the fortune of arms whenever he pleases. Around this power, elevated in the face of that of the Sultan, the thoughts of all the discontented are concentrated; they know that at any moment they may find efficacious assistance; intervention in case of a struggle; refuge in case of defeat. The necessities of the position which he has assumed, bind the interests to those of whoever chooses to oppose the government. What is such a power, but a permanent provocative to complaints and acts, which change their character into insurrection?

It may be objected that this danger is only so alarming, because in Turkey the discontented are numerous. Let us leave, as we have announced to the accusing party, a basis as large as they desire; we retain sufficient strength in this simple question: Does no discontent prevail in the other States of Europe? Let us examine them.

In England, if the governor of one of the fractions of the United Kingdom, possessed of as many troops and ships and as much money as the King, were any moment to enter into a contest with equal chances of success, supported by the excitement of rivalry, what would not the wrongs of Ireland become to England?

If, in France, the commander of a military division at Bourdeaux, Lille, or Strasbourg, in revolt, under any pretext, had beaten the troops of the government, taken a third of the territory, and continued, by the intervention of neighbouring States, to govern in the name of the King the conquered provinces, how long, even in the compact country of France, would the throne hold out against the spirit of Vendée and the attempts of the republicans?

Let us imagine the Viceroy of Hungary to be as powerful in troops and in funds as the Emperor of Austria; and blood to have been already shed; let us imagine that by a natural consequence the sovereign, and he who imagines himself to be the sovereign, were to stand on their

guard one against the other, thus exhausting their respective strength, we should be glad to know to what lengths the ardour for insurrection would spread over Austrian Italy.

In the vast Russian empire, formed, like Turkey, of different populations, let us imagine the governor of Southern Russia, being to the Czar what Mehemet Ali is to the Sultan—would the refugees of Poland long remain absent from their hearths?

Spain offers us the spectacle of two rival powers. Under this excitement, what energy has not the resistance of Navarre displayed?

Certainly you will not dare to assert that the King of England and his Protestant subjects must disappear, in order to yield the field to Catholic Ireland; that in France, the King, and the mass of the nation which supports him, are to be supplanted by Vendée or the republic; that the Austrian nationality is called upon to make way for the Italian provinces of that empire; that the Emperor and his millions of Russian subjects are to retire behind the snows of the Arctic regions, to give breathing room to Poland; that, in fine, Christina and the defenders of her cause are to evacuate Spain, that the political religion of Navarre may rest at ease on the soil.

Observe, however, the point to which your argument tends, if you are consistent! and if you are not consistent, by what right do you assume to instruct public opinion?

Far be from us the idea of opposing accusation by accusation, and of retorting on other governments the reproaches which are addressed to that of Turkey. We show that every state has its living, bleeding wound; that it is everywhere difficult to satisfy every interest at once; to respond, at the same time, to the regrets of the past and the exigencies of the future; to calm the ardour of the passions; to repair every error; and to provide, without

painful operations, against the numerous maladies which affect the social body. If it were granted to the chief of a nation to distribute happiness in equal doses, as an engineer levels the inequalities of the soil, administrative science would no longer be so valuable, and those who have possessed it would not have been entitled to the immortality of illustrious men.

Far, then, from being astonished that there is discontent in Turkey, it would be fair to ask how, with the state of things created in these countries by European policy, it has not long since been entirely engulphed in universal anarchy. Under the influence of the same circumstances, the strongest powers of Europe would have succumbed. Yet Turkey still stands erect, and only requires to gain one point, to acquire in a few years indestructible solidity; that point is, that Europe should renounce the false idea she has formed of her instability, and that, consequently, she should grant to Turkey *security for her national existence.* If this truth be questioned at the present day, the reason is, as we have said, that people have never investigated by what elements of secret vitality the Ottoman empire has sustained itself against such innumerable blows from every quarter of Christendom.

We conclude at the point where the * * * * commenced, and we believe we plead the cause of Russia equally with that of Turkey, in repelling with all our strength the scandalous proposal which involves the destruction of the one for the advantage of the other. If Turkey is interested in defending herself against the propagation in Europe of the idea of its extinction, Russia is no less so in not allowing unmerited suspicions to rest on her good faith; suspicions, which, by obtaining credit, may excite a political crisis, the consequences of which are incalculable.

The position of Constantinople is regarded by the * * * * as insignificant. According to it, the sooner the

Ottomans are deprived of it, the better will it be for the commerce of England and the whole world. It is the Russian empire on which it would unceremoniously bestow Turkey in Europe; and it defies the world to prove that this aggrandisement would in any respect augment the power of Russia.

That power, if consulted on the importance of Constantinople, would hold a very different language, for its cabinet is too enlightened and far too experienced to hope that its words would obtain credit, if it were to speak lightly or with disdain of a position which commands an entire sea and the vast countries which it bounds. Russia may disavow, with plausible reasons, the projects imputed to her by public opinion; she may vaunt her disinterestedness, and inquire, with map in hand, whether so vast an empire requires new conquests. She cannot assert, like the * * **, that the possession of Turkey would add nothing to her power. Constantinople, whenever its occupier chooses to make it so, will be the absolute Queen of the Mediterranean. From this fortress, flanked by two vast and unassailable continents, fleets, superior in force to all those which England could oppose, might issue at her orders. As to superiority of discipline, it is a merit to be acquired by practice, and the sea of Marmora is a field for exercise, whose equal may in vain be sought for throughout the world. Thirty thousand unemployed Greek sailors, thirsting for glory and plunder, would not long be inferior to the English; and on this theatre, which is their own, they would soon profit by the lessons of their masters.

On the other hand, Constantinople is the road to India. It may be said that it is distant, and the proposition may be disputed. But, in political affairs, distances are not calculated by space. A power which holds in her hands the existence of several others, advances without putting herself in motion. Is Persia, like the Ottoman empire, which is surrounded by seas, free to communicate which-

ever way she pleases? Enslaved, surrounded, she has no exit but by the Euxine and the Persian Gulf. If one of these ways is closed against her, one half of Persia is paralysed in her existence, and is forced to fall at the feet of him who holds the keys. How tremendous a means of action is the exclusive possession of the channel which supplies the food of millions!

"We think it superfluous seriously to discuss the assertion of the * * * *, that the commerce of England with Odessa is more considerable than that of England with any town of the Ottoman empire. The respective importance of the places suffices alone to show the utter absurdity of this joke, and we may without exaggeration offer to prove to the * * * *, by figures, that the value of the commercial intercourse between England and Constantinople could hardly be equalled by the relations of one hundred towns like Odessa. Russia, we must acknowledge, favours, by noble encouragement and wise financial principles, the increase of commerce, which finds in all parts of her territory a beneficent protection. But has England, in this respect, to complain of the Ottoman empire? The Sultan's ambassador in London has recently set forth, in the speech to the King, published by the * * * * itself, the generous facilities which the commerce of Great Britain had invariably received in Turkey. The envoy pronounced the word "reciprocity" on the part of England. Why, then, did not the * * * * seize the opportunity to expose the futility of the words of the Turkish representative, and to bring forward the grievances of Great Britain?

The journal sums up its own grievances in these words:—"Our ancient allies are incorrigible barbarians." Incorrigible! If the Turks were to amend, as Europe would have them do, they would adopt the vices which abound there: financial aberrations, which agitate every portion of its surface, and which give rise to the expression —Old Europe. Then the Turks, indeed, would be called

regenerate. Unhappy, indeed, would be their fate, if they should ever be impelled into the fatal path of abandoning their national wisdom, their religious principles, and their financial doctrines! It is for the Ottomans, in contemplating civilisation, in witnessing its inconsiderate animosities, its predilection for forms, without examining their principles; the existence of galley slaves, which is imposed on men in civilised climes by the absence of real philosophy, and by the miserable ambition which aspires only to material enjoyments—it is for the Ottomans, in hearing the * * * * raise the cry of inquisitor, and on seeing it suddenly retrograde six centuries, to say in the accents of profound grief—"Christians, you are incorrigible."

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THE END.

BOMBAY BRANCH
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